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THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SIR DAVID LINDSAY (1490-1555)

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THE history of the printing of the successive editions of Lindsay's works is one of deep interest and importance for Scottish bibliography, for the history of Scottish printing before 1550 is extraordinarily sketchy. But while Scottish editors and bibliographers have conjectured wholesale losses of printed books before that date very little detective work has been done since the days of David Laing, much of whose bibliographical work, moreover, despite all the honour due to him as a pioneer and an indefatigable delver, cannot bear the weight of examination. In the first half of the sixteenth century Scotland produced at least four printers—Andrew Millar, Thomas Davidson, John Story, and John Scot, the last to continue working until 1571, and it is quite clear that these men relied on their trade as printers for their livelihood. Though one of them might have been a philanthropic printer, issuing works only at intervals, it is very unlikely that we would find four such men in Scotland in the first half of the sixteenth century, especially when their dates overlap. We must therefore reckon on sufficient business to keep them fully occupied, and as most writers of Latin in Scotland sent most of their work abroad for printing, we must

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society, 21 January 1929.

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conclude that much of the work issued from early Scottish presses was in the vernacular.

LOST FIRST EDITIONS. I. THE PAPYNGO. Though it is difficult to trace a lost edition it is possible, I think, in the case of Lindsay, to prove the existence in print of no less than seven poems before 1550. The introductory case, and the easiest to understand, is that of *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*. Two early editions exist, one printed in English by John Byddell, London, 1538, quarto, and the other printed in Scots at Rouen in 1558 in both quarto and octavo.¹ The 1558 quarto edition (which is that referred to throughout this discussion, except where expressly stated otherwise) is in the same format as the Byddell quarto; it has the same number of lines to the page, the same arrangement of type, the same use of capitals, the same size of blackletter, even to the almost identical arrangement of the sub-titles and ornaments. So closely alike are the two editions that at first sight one naturally concludes that the 1558 edition is a paginary reprint of the 1538 edition, but it would have been quite impossible for the French printer, or a Scotsman working for him, to retranslate Byddell's English back into what is unmistakably Lindsay's Scots. The only possible explanation is that both Byddell and Petit were reprinting from copies of a printed edition of the poem which no longer exists, an edition of the same format, style, and size

¹ [Users of the *Short-Title Catalogue* should note that in Nos. 15672-8, *Ane dialog betwix experience and ane courteour: deuiddit in foure partis* (which itself has the running titles *The First, second, third, fourth buke of the Monarchie* and is quoted as *The Monarchie* in this paper) is followed by *The Tragedie of the umquibyle maist Reverend Father David, Cardinal* [Beaton], by *The Testament and Complaynt of our Souerane Lordis Papyngo*, and by *The Dreame of Schir D. Lyndesay*. The editions are (15672): 4to at command off Doctor Machabeus in Copmābouin [J. Scot, 1554]; (15673) 4to and 8vo at the command of S. Jascuy in Paris [Rouen? J. Petit?] 1558; (15675) 4to [J. Scot, 1559?]; (15676), 4to T. Purfoote a. W. Pickering, 1566; (15677) 4to T. Purfoote, 1575; (15678) 4to T. Purfoote, 1581. The S.T.C. does not distinguish the two groups set forth by Mr. Hamer on p. 25 sq. A. W. P.]

of type. If both editions had been printed from MS. it is very unlikely that they would have attained this striking similarity.

Who, then, printed this lost edition? Byddell's edition appeared in 1538, which gives us the latest possible date. Byddell, however, has a double colophon: *Here endes the complaynt, & testament of the kinge of Scottes Papingo, compyled by David Lyndesay of the mount, and finysshed the .xiiij. day of Decembre, in the yere of our lord. 1530* [below which is] *Imprynted at London in Fletestrete, at the sygne of the Sonne, by Iohn Byddell. The yere of our lorde .M.D.xxxviij. CVM PRIVILEGIO.* These are obviously two distinct colophons, though both are in the English manner. Was the first the earlier Scottish printer's own colophon, with the date on which he finished printing his edition, or was it the date on which Lindsay finished writing the poem? Its formality, much too elaborate for a Scottish poet of that day, who was satisfied with a simple *Quod . . .*, reminds one too strongly of the final flourish of the English printer, in whose case there can be no question that the date given is the date, not of composition, but of printing. And I am satisfied that here too it represents the date of printing, and that the printer was familiar with early English printed books. It will also be noticed that this colophon describes Lindsay as simply *Dauid Lyndesay of the mount*, which verifies the date of the Scottish edition. Lindsay became Lyon-depute not later than 1530, and it is highly probable that if he had written the poem after that date his printer would have been only too glad to include among his titles that of Lyon King-of-Arms.

Careful examination of the types, especially ornamental capitals and blocks, shows that Thomas Davidson and John Scot used identical types. There is no record of any connexion between Scot and Davidson. Scot was in Edinburgh by June 1539, when he received a grant of two chambers with cellars in a house on the north side of the Cowgate at the foot of Borth-

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wick's Close. Davidson died about 1542, and by 1550, or perhaps 1547, Scot is found owning the largest printing press in Scotland. But the really vital thing has been entirely overlooked. Between Scot's productions and Davidson's there is a striking similarity of style, and my prolonged study of their work has forced upon me the conclusion that Scot not only acquired the whole, certainly the better part, of Davidson's press and types, but had actually learnt the art of printing from Davidson, and continued his master's style to the day of his death. We may, therefore, also conclude that Scot acquired Davidson's goodwill, and that, as Scot is found after about 1547 to be the regular printer of Lindsay's poems, Davidson had been the printer of a 1530 edition of *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, and probably also of other poems by Lindsay.

Furthermore, in reprinting the poem in 1559, Scot used a copy of the original Scottish edition, altering, however, the format. Textual collation proves this. Using, therefore, the 1558 edition of the poem as a typographical copy of the original edition, and therefore almost equivalent to the original, we must examine the typographical identities and differences between that edition and Scot's 1559 edition, to see exactly what Scot did when reprinting from an earlier edition. With the law, or measure, of identities and differences which we deduce we may then proceed to compare other poems common to the 1558 and 1559 editions. If the law or measure we deduce, however slight, suits a second poem exactly as it fitted *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, then we may confidently assume that the second poem was again reprinted by both printers from an earlier printed edition, and final proof of this will lie in the absence of textual variants other than mere spellings. But if the law or measure does not suit a poem then we know that the two printers did not use copies of the same printed edition. It does not, however, absolve one printer

from using an earlier printed edition, and the other a manuscript, and at the same time it does not preclude the possibility of the two printers having used different printed editions as their respective authorities. The final proof here, therefore, will lie in the expectation, and the almost certainty, of textual variations other than mere spellings. We may reasonably expect the French printer to have made his quarto edition a series of paginary reprints, for, as we have seen, his edition of *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo* was a paginary reprint of a Davidson edition of 1530, while his edition of *The Monarche* is a paginary reprint of Scot's 1554 edition of that poem, which exists in seven copies known to me. The French printer, whether Jean Petit or his immediate successor, was therefore in the habit, so far as this volume of Lindsay is concerned, of making paginary reprints. And, to anticipate what is to follow, the law or measure fits *The Tragedie of the Late Cardinal [Beaton]* exactly, and is verified by the absence of textual variants between the 1558 and 1559 editions; and it does not fit *The Dreame of Sir David Lindsay*, and is here verified by the presence of highly important variant readings, none of which have been previously noted by scholars. It does, however, suggest that Petit's edition of *The Dreame* was actually printed from a now lost early Scottish printed edition.

At the outset, in formulating our law of typographical identities and differences between the 1558 and 1559 editions of *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, it may be stated that Scot, the printer of the 1559 volume, was, to put it kindly, the thriftiest of Scottish printers, and that no printer was more likely to save paper and costs than he. This is one of the characteristic features of most of his publications, while the editions of Lindsay of 1554, 1559, and 1568 tend to show his increasing niggardliness as he grew older. Where in the 1558 quarto line 188 of *The Monarche* measures 93 cm., in Scot's 1554 edition it had measured only 90 cm., while in the 1559

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reprint it dwindled to 86 cm., and in the 1568 edition still further to 83 cm. Scot's tendency, therefore, is to become more and more compact, and more and more scanty in his margins. Again, within individual volumes, Scot seems to have adopted a standard width for his letter-press, in consonance, of course, with his desire to reduce his margins. If a line of verse is too long, as many naturally are, for his normal line of type, he abbreviates the verse wherever possible, not only by the use of typographical abbreviations, but also by shortening the actual forms of words, particularly in the last word in the line, the rhyme-word, and curiously enough these shorter forms approximate to and frequently often become the shortest possible *English* form of the word. Hence, therefore, the origin of many of the English forms found in Lindsay's verse. Davidson and Petit had no such thrifty instincts. Their blocks of type are wider, they do not skimp paper, and their forms, as a result, must approximate more to Lindsay's originals than do Scot's, where there is any difference between them. Unfortunately, however, Petit's editions, the work of foreign compositors, have so many recognizable errors of spelling that it is absolutely impossible to say whether a particular form is Lindsay's or not. This alone is the reason why Petit's editions cannot become standard.

We expect then to find considerable condensation of word-forms in Scot, and this becomes the first criterion. But Scot's desire to save paper leads him to other devices of condensation. He sometimes abbreviates titles, as he does in the case of *The Tragedie of the Late Cardinal Beaton*. In *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo* he omits the words *The Prolong*, and thereafter prints all his sub-titles, not as Petit does, and as Davidson had done, with some attempt at display, but in his smallest fount of blackletter, seeming to grudge them space upon the page. Again Petit, and Davidson, have an interesting habit, where a section of a poem ends on a verso, of printing the

sub-title on the vacant two-thirds or so of the verso, and beginning the first stanza of the new section on the recto following. Scot, however, preferred to save paper. He prints his sub-titles as I have described, in his smallest fount of blackletter, on the verso, and follows it immediately with the new section. But both printers in one place use the identical capital Q, which must have been there in the original quarto, and where Petit has a capital Scot also has a capital. Scot abbreviates the heading of the *first Epystill* by the omission of certain words. Petit prints *direct tyll OUR SOUERANE LORDE, Kyng James the Fyfte*, but Scot omits the three words here in capitals, presumably for the reason that James was dead, a reason which only the thrifty Scot (in both senses) would have lighted upon.

II. THE DREME. Scanty enough as it sounds, this then is the law to be used. Let us examine *The Dreme*. In the first place the 1558 edition contains no sub-titles between the end of the prologue and the exhortation. The prologue is announced as *The Prolog*, and is concluded by

Heir endith the Prolog.
And followith the dreme.
Thessalon. v.

Prophetias nolite spernere : omnia
autem probate quod bonum
est tenete.

Then follows, beginning on the next page, the whole of *The Dreme*, without any intermediate title, concluding with

And¹ exhortatioun
to the Kingis grace.

which again begins on the succeeding page. The quotation from Thessalonians is not, however, to be found in Scot.

We may say at once, therefore, that in the case of *The Dreme*

¹ I retain Petit's spellings throughout, without comment. Most errors will be obvious.

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the law fails to operate. But the general similarity of the style of the 1558 edition of *The Dreame* to the 1558 edition of *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo* at once suggests that Petit was reprinting from an earlier printed edition. The presence of sub-titles in Scot is very noteworthy, as we shall see later. What then does Scot present as his text? The final proof, as I said, when the law failed to operate would lie in the presence of textual variants other than mere spellings, and collation produces the following crop, from which all doubtful variants, and all mere differences of spelling, which are innumerable, have been excluded, though I have admitted variants which are important prosodically, since they have a bearing on the textual value of Scot editions in general.

Line 11. 1558 softlye; 1559 sweetlie.

28. 1558 aggregabill; 1559 greabyll.

54. 1558 my pen; 1559 my mynd.

136. 1558 suld nochit tak harme; 1559 suld tak no harme.

222. 1558 wonder; 1559 wondrous.

405. 1558 chare; 1559 sett.

502. 1558 torne ful evin; 1559 torne evin (also 1568).

558. 1558 of nummer; 1559 in nummer.

628. 1558 so lytill; 1559 so small.

637. 1558 That sal I schaw to the quod sche schortlie;

1559 That sall I schaw quod scho to the schortlie.

647. 1558 *tham* weil decide; 1559 than richt desyde.

811. 1558 quhat mouis our miserie;

1559 quhate dois mufe our Misere.

859. 1558 And this; 1559 So this.

861. 1558 *this*; 1559 *thir*.

882. 1558 on neid mon; 1559 man on neid.

890. 1558 lunge; 1559 sloug.

897. 1558 Bot be the gud hirde; 1559 Bot the gude hird.

898. 1558 Than ar his flokis rewlit all at rycht;

1559 Doith so, that all his flokis ar rewlit rycht.

915. 1558 That ryches mycht be polices incres;

1559 That ryches mycht be, and Policye incres.

928. 1558 Gif 3e plesit to wit quhar is 3our name;

1559 Geue that 3e plesit to wyt quhat wer 3our name.

937. 1558 And honorit in enerylk regioun ;
1559 And weill honorit in euerilk Natioun.
938. 1558 How happynnis this tribulatioun ;
1559 How happinnis now your tribulatioun.
944. 1558 For *thair* is few *that* to me takis tent ;
1559 For there is few to me that takis tent.
945. 1558 go *thus* raggit ; 1559 go so raggit.
950. 1558 clene capitane ; 1559 plane capitane.
953. 1558 I was allace ; 1559 allace I was.
954. 1558 *that* land ; 1559 the land.
955. 1558 lochmabane ; 1559 lowmabane (1568 Loichmabane).
958. 1558 viciansnes ; 1559 vecious workis.
- 960-4. 1558 In the hieland I cowth fint no resort
Bot suddanly I was put in exill
Thay sweir swingeours warld mak me no support
Nor amang *thame* lat me repois ane quhyll
Syklyk in to *the* out ylis and argyll
1559 In to the hieland I could fynd no remeid
Bot suddantlie I wes put to exile
Tha sweir swyngeoris thay tuke of me non heid
Nor amangs thame lat me remane ane quhyle
Als in the oute Ylis and in Argyle
975. 1558 quham to to mak my mene ;
1559 quhome to I suld me mene.
1000. 1558 tel me ; 1559 schaw me.
1010. 1558 richt trew ; 1559 full trew.
1011. 1558 ane ower jowng ; 1559 ouir jowng ane.
1033. 1558 All thus mater ; 1559 All the visoun.
1034. 1558 as now I hef no moir ;
1559 as now thov gettis no more.
- Sub-title. 1558 And exhortatioun to/the Kingis grace ;
1559 Heir Endis the Dreame And begynnys/the Exhortatioun to the
Kyngis Grace. (1568 The Exhortatioun to the /Kingis Grace.)
1041. 1558 Quhow he ; 1559 That he.
1043. 1558 ertthly thing ; 1559 vther thyng.
1052. 1558 Because *that* thow ; 1559 And sen that thow.
1058. 1558 weill heir ; 1559 weill wyt.
1081. 1558 Without fredome is none to honor habill ;
1559 Was neuer jit na wrache to honour habyll.
1083. 1558 cresus of pers ; 1559 Mydas of Trace.
1084. 1558 Goddis ; 1559 Goddes.

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- 1104-1105. 1558 Fredome, and manheid, gan ower thame to ryng ;
And chosin Romes Empryour and Lord.
- 1559 And Princelie curage gane on thame to ryng
And chosin of Romanis Empriour and lord.
- 1106. 1558 in thy mynd ; 1559 in to thy mynd.
- 1108. 1558 Wythout thaye ; 1559 Without it.
- 1112. 1558 perculiar ; 1559 perticulare.
- 1113. 1558 than sal ; 1559 so sall.
- 1114. 1558 Rememberyng of thy freindis fatale end ;
1559 Remember of thy friendis the fatell end.
- 1121. 1558 Sen from *that* sentence *thair* is none may fle ;
1559 Sen there is none frome that scentence may fle.
- 1123. 1558 Bot all mon thole of bittir deyt the schours ;
1559 Bot all mon thole of deith the bitter schouris.

Clearly then, the presence of these important variants, besides a veritable host of form-variants, indicates that the two texts have different ancestors, and Petit offers the better text from all literary points of view. From the general similarity of Petit's edition of the poem to *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo* I conclude that Petit was reprinting from a Scottish quarto, again by Davidson, though, of course, I can fully see the argument that if he were printing from manuscript his arrangement of the poem would almost naturally follow that of *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*. On the other hand the absence of sub-titles from Petit's edition of *The Dreame* and from the Lambeth Palace MS. of *The Monarchie* does seem to suggest that Lindsay was not responsible for these disfigurements, and that either Scot himself had inserted the sub-titles of these poems or they had been inserted by a scribe taking upon himself the 'duties' of editor. I think, however, that Scot himself is responsible, and that he was simply following the sixteenth-century habit of popularizing his productions by these means. I feel, therefore, that Petit offers us a text which is in more direct descent from Lindsay's original manuscript than is Scot's. The alternative readings offered by Scot are, I think, the work of a scribe ; the sub-

titles Scot's own nefarious editing. Examination of his text will show how worthless they are. And we may also surmise that he tampered with Lindsay's forms.

Despite Petit's hosts of misprints it is sometimes possible to correct Scot, and to be quite satisfied with the results. Even *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, reprinted from copies of the same parent edition, has foolish errors in Scot, only some of which have been corrected by previous editors of Lindsay, who, of course, have not studied the bibliographical problems in detail. In his poem, for example, Petit offers a few interesting comments on Scot's reliability in reprinting, while Scot's attempts to correct for the 1568 edition are equally interesting.

Line 13. 1558, 1559 Quhoo. This, therefore, was the reading in 1530.

216. 1558 proude; 1559 prude. Petit correct (1568 proude).

507. 1558 reuolfe; 1559 rouolfe. Petit correct (1568 reuolue).

521. 1558 remembrance; 1559 remembrance. Petit correct, the extra syllable being required prosodically (1568 remembrance).

653. 1558 3ov; 1559 3our. Petit correct. (1568 3ow).

787. 1558 wounder; 1559 wunder. Petit correct. This is an example of Scot's abbreviation of a rhyme-word to save overflowing the line (1568 wonder, but overflows the line).

843. 1558 dochter; 1559 Dochter. Petit correct (1568 douchter).

1061. 1558 floks; 1559 floks. The correct reading is *folks*. Was this also a misprint in Davidson, which Scot endeavoured to correct (1568 folkis)?

These are perhaps self-evident. But when Scot prints *change* and Petit *cheange*, or vice versa, who is more likely to give the correct reading? Scot ought to have done, because he was a Scotsman, but he was too keen either on cutting down costs or on modernizing Lindsay's language to the linguistic fashions of the 1560's.

III. THE TRAGEDIE OF THE LATE CARDINAL BEATON. Here we return to the law derived from *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*. Both the 1558 and 1559 editions have the same sub-titles, and have capitals in the same places, even

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where there is no ostensible need, either grammatically or rhetorically :

Behauld My Faitell, Infylicite (line 253, 1558)

and

O Kyngis mak 3e (&c., line 407, 1558).

Conversely both editions begin the section *To the Prencis* with a small capital. The texts are identical in their readings, even to the almost identical (and noticeably quaint) punctuation. The only differences between the texts are those of spellings. I consider therefore that, like *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, *The Tragedie of the Late Cardinal Beaton* was reprinted by both Scot and Petit from an earlier lost parent edition. Now unless Davidson survived to print this lost quarto it must have been printed by Scot himself. Editors have long suspected him to have done so, on the score of certain proceedings taken against the constable and provost of Dundee, who had been ordered to arrest Scot for an offence not detailed in the Privy Council records. The provost apparently failed to trace Scot, and was summoned before the Council on 5 April 1547 to explain his failure.

Apud Edinburgh, quinto Aprilis, anno, etc., V^o quadragesimo septimo. Sederunt. Episcopus Dunkeldensis. Abbates—Glenluse, Culross. Domini—Georgeus Douglas de Pettindrech, Johannes Campbell de Lundy, Willelmus Hammiltoun de Sanchar, Milites. Clericus Registri. M. Henricus Lauder, Advocatus.

The quhilk day, fforsemeill as oure Soverane Ladyis lettres wer direct, charging John Skrimgeour of Glastree, Constable of Dundee and provest of the samyn, to tak and apprehend Johne Scott, prentar, and to bring and present him within the Castell of Edinburgh, and to deliver him to the capitane thairof, ta be punist for his demeritis and faltis conforme to the lawis and consuetude of the realme, under the pane of tresoun : At command of the quhilkis, the said Johne Skrimgeour as he allegit did his exact diligence to apprehend him, and culd nocht fynd him, and the said Johne comperand to ansuer upoun his charge, schew how

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he had socht the said Johne Scott and could nocht apprehend him, as said is. Tharfor, the Lordis of Counsale, of the said Johnis awin consent, ordanis him to do his exact diligence for the seiking and seircheing of the said Johne Scott within the boundis of his office, and to tak and apprehend him, and to bring and put him within the Castell of Edinburgh, and deliver him to the capitane thairof to the effect forsaid, eftir the forme and tennour of the lettres direct to him thairupoun of befor, and under the panis contenit in the samin. And in caise the said Johne Scott can nocht be gottin, and beis fugitive to the boundis of the scherefdomes of Forfair, Kincardine, Perth, Fiff, and uthairis places thairabout, ordanis the Schereffis of the saidis schiris, Provestis, Aldermen, and Baillies of the Burrowis of the samyn, to pass, serche, and seik the said Johne quhair evir he may be apprehendit, within the boundis of thair offices, ilk ane of thame for thair awin part, and to tak and apprehend him, and to bring and present him within the Castell of Edinburgh, and to deliver him to the capitane thairof with all diligence. And giff the said Johne Scott happinnis to pas to ony strenthis or castellis, and haldis him thairintill, ordanis the said Schereffis and thair Deputis, Provestis, Aldermen, and Baillies of Burrowis, and uthairis officiariis of the Quenis, Scheriffis in that pairt, to pas and command, and charge the maisteris, awneris, and keiparis of sik castellis, houssis, and strenthis, that thai intromet with all diligence, bring and present the said Johne Scott within the said Castell of Edinburgh, and deliver him to the capitane thairof to the effect forsaid, under the pane to be repute and haldin as art and part takar with him in his evill deidis, and to be callit accusit and puneist thairfor with all rigour as effeiris conforme to the lawis of the realme.

Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, i. 69-70.

The Council then deemed John Scot's offence extremely serious, and feared that he might fly to a castle for safety, to defy the forces of the crown as the assassins of Beaton had done at St. Andrews the previous year. The provost of Dundee immediately resigned his office. As he had seen, the Council was half-intending to make him personally responsible for Scot's arrest, his failure to achieve which would be followed by his own arrest. Perhaps, too, he sympathized with Scot.

The record itself is one of many repressive measures taken by both church and state in Scotland during the eighteen months and more following the assassination of the Cardinal, and there is no reason to suspect Scot of having entered the political arena with anything more reprehensible than the publication

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of a book which gave considerable offence, particularly, as may be seen from the members of the council present at the above meeting, to the church and its lay adherents. Evidently he had flown from his press, which is thought to have been at that time at St. Andrews, although the first assumption from the above record is that it was at Dundee. Perhaps, however, he had crossed the Tay at the first alarm, and was known to be in, or to have been in, Dundee. His offence, whatever it was, was grave, but what finally happened is quite unknown, as the records are silent.

We are helped considerably at this point by the existence of three copies of an English translation of the poem, published by John Day and William Seres at a date not specified. This edition is not separate. The poem is part of an octavo volume giving an account of the trial and death of the Protestant martyr George Wishart, and the assassination of Beaton as a political and religious consequence. The book is divided into three parts—a lengthy epistle *Roberte Barrant to the reader*, Lindsay's *Tragedy of the late moste reuerende father David*, and *The accusation of maister George Wyschart*. The first and last items were evidently considered the most important parts of the volume. They are printed in the medium fount of black-letter, while the poem is printed in the smallest. Of Barrant little is known. He was evidently, from the strong tones of the epistle, an Englishman, and a fiery Protestant. He later translated the *Preceptes of Cato, with the annotacions of D. Erasmus of Roterodame*, with a dedication to Sir Thomas Caverden, published by Richard Grafton in 1553. From the epistle it is clear that Barrant had been in Scotland at the time of both murders, but what is more important for us is that he must have been in Scotland at the time of the circulation of Lindsay's poem, either in manuscript or in print, and had brought back to England a copy of one or other. Unfortunately the methods applied to the English and French editions of *The Testament*

and *Complaynt of the Papyngo* do not here hold good. In the case of the *Papyngo* poem the clue to the parent edition was identity of format and typographical arrangement. In the present case there is no such clue, for Day's edition is in octavo. Still, something may be learnt from the titles of the three editions of 1548, 1558, and 1559. It will be noticed that the titles of the 1548 and 1558 editions are almost identical. Both give (Day of course in English) what must have been the full title of the original edition, a title which Scot abbreviates considerably. Day's title reads: *Here foloweth the Tragedy of the late moste reuerende fater Dauid, by the mercie of God cardinall and Archbishoppe of saint Andrewes. And of the whole realme of Scotland, Primate, Legate and Chaunceler. And administrator of the bishoprich of Merapois in Fraunce. And commendator perpetuall of the Abbay of Aberbrothoke, compiled by sir Dauid Lyndsaye of the mounthe knyghte. Alias Lione, Kyng of Armes. Anno. M.D.xlvi. ultimo Maij. The wordes of Dauid Beaton the Cardinall aforesaied at his death. Alas alas, slaye me not, I am a Priest.* Petit's title is identical down to the date: *Heir followis the Tragedie of the vngbyle | Maister Reuerende fader Dauid, be the mercie of God, Cardinal, and Archibyschope of Sanctandrous. And of the haill Realme of Scotlande Primate, Legate, and Chauncelare, And Administrator, of the Byschoprik of Merapoyis in France. And Commendator perpetuall of the Abay of Aberbrothok. Compylit be Schir Dauid Lyndsay, Off the Mont, Knycht. Alias, Lyone, Kyng of Armes, &c.* This is followed by a woodcut 'portrait' of Lindsay, and the imprint. Scot reduces the whole title almost to nothing, and in doing so forgets that Lindsay's full title has a literary significance, for the poem is in imitation of the *Falls of Princes*, and the introductory stream of titles and honours possessed by the Cardinal is essential to the theme. The significance in the 'tragedy' is therefore lost. Scot's title reads: *Heir folouis the Tragedie, of the Umqubyle maist Reuerende Father Dauid, be the Mercy of*

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God, Cardinall and Archbyschope of Sanctandrou, &c. Compylit be Schir David Lyndsaye, of the mont, king of armes. The punctuation of all three versions should be compared, and their phrasing noted. My belief, therefore, is that all three editions were separately reprinted from a lost parent edition common to all three.

By settling an approximate date for Day's edition we can therefore find an approximate date for the parent edition. Chalmers (*Lindsay*, i. 73) assigned to the poem the date 1546, the date on Day's title, and assumed that immediately after the 'odious assassination of this great, but obnoxious prelate . . . by a band of ruffians, who were in the pay of Henry VIII, on the 28th May 1546 . . . Lindsay sat down to gratify his prejudice, by satirizing the memory of Beaton, and incidentally protecting the lives of the assassins. This *tragedie* was printed, at London, in 1546'. Chalmers therefore takes the date on Day's title as the date of composition, and also thinks that it was published for the first time in London in the same year. Laing (*Lindsay*, three-volume edition, i. 294) partly corrected Chalmers. 'It is quite clear', he says, 'that its composition was not *immediately* after "that dismal event", as Lindsay himself says at line 428, that the Cardinal's body had lain unburied "for seven months or more" in a leaden coffin (according to Knox) at the bottom of the Sea Tower in the Castle of St. Andrews where the murder took place. . . . Lyndsay's poem was . . . "Imprinted at London by John Day and William Seres", without date, but evidently in 1547.' Laing in turn assumes that the London edition was the first, and in the bibliographical section of his three-volume edition of Lindsay says that 'it may be assigned to the end of the year 1547'.

External bibliographical evidence, slight as it is, helps to advance these theories. Day and Seres are only known to have collaborated between 1548 and 1550. Most of their books are

CNow haue ye herde this lytle tragedre
The soze com playnt, the testament & myschaunce
Of this poore byrd, Whylke byd ascende so hye
Besekyng you excuse myne ignoraunce
And rude endyte, Whylke is not to auauce
And to the queyre I gyue the commaundement
Make no repayre, Where poetes bene present

Because you bene but rethoriks so rude
Be neuer sene besyde none other boke
With kyng nor quene, With lord nor man of gude
With cote buciene, clayme kynred to some coke
Steale in a nake, When men lyst on the loke
For smell of smuke men wyll abhorre to bere the
Here I mensuer the, wherfoze to lurke go lere the.

There endes the complaynt, & testament of the
kyng of Scottes Papingo, compyled by
Dauid Lyndesay of the mount, and
fynished the .xiiij. day of Decem-
bre, in the yere of our lord. 1530

Imprynted at London in fletestrete, as
the sygne of the Sonne, by Iohn
Byddell. The yere of our
lord. M. D. xxxviii.

CVM PRIVILEGIO.

Now haue zehard, this lytill tragedye.
The soze complement, the testament, and myschance
Of this pure bird, quhilk did ascende so hye
Beset and zoh excuse myne Ignorance
And rude indyte, quhilk is nocht tyll auance
And to the quair, I gyff commandement
Has no repair, quhare Doyt is bene present.

Because thou bene but Rhetorik so rude,
Be neuer sene, besyde none vther buke
With kyng nor Quene, With lord nor man of gude
With Coit bnclene, clame kynrent to sum cuke
Strill in one nuke, quhen thay lyst one the luke
For smell of smuke, men wyll abhor to beir the
Heir I mainfweir the, quharefoze to lourke go leir the.

¶ F I N I S .

Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour,

Of the Miserabyll Estait of the Warld,
Compellit be Schir David Lynde-
say of ye Mount knyght alias, Lyone
kyng of Armes.

And is Deuidit in foure Partis.
As efter followis. &c.

And Imprentit at the Command
and Expensis off Doctoz,
MACHABEVS,
In Copmāhoun.



Abſit Gloriari, Niſi in Cruce Domini
noſtri Ieſu Chriſti,



225
1611

PLATE III. Title of Scot's 1554 edition of *The Monarchie*, showing false imprint

Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courtour.



Of the Miserabyll Estatt of the world.
Complit be Schir Dauid Lynde-
say of the mont knyght Alias, Lyone
Kyng of Armes.

And is Deuidit in four partis
As efter followis.

And Imprentit at the Command
and Expensis of Doctoꝝ

NACHABEVS.

In Copmanhoun.

1559

Attounit thare is bukis imprentit
in France, of twa sortis the quhilkis ar
verray fals as it is knawin, & wantis
meikle that this Buke hes for
this is Juste and trew, and
nane bot this Buke.

be war with thame for
thay wll dissauie you.

Absq̃ gloriari, nisi in Cruce domini nostri Iesu C

PLATE IV. Title of Scot's 1559 edition, repeating the false imprint,
and warning readers against Petit's editions

Their followis the Tra-
gedie of the vnghyle / Maister Reuerende
fader Dauid, be the mercy of God, Cardinal, and Archi-
byschope of Sanctandrous. And of the haille Realme of
Scotlande Primate, Legate, And Chancelare, And Ad-
ministratoz, of the Byschoprick of Herapoyes in France.
And Commendatoz perpetuall of the Abay of Aberbro-
thok. Compylit be Schir Dauid Lyndesay, Off the
Hont, knyght. Alias, Lyone, kyng
of Armes. &c.



And Imprinted at the command, and
expenses of Maister Samuel
Jacopy, In Paris.

1558.

C Ane Dialog be- tuir Experience and ane Cour-

teour. Off the Miserabill Estait of the World.

C Compillit be Schir David Lyndesay of ye Aont
Knycht Alias, Lyone kyng of Armes. And is Deuidit
in Foure Partis. As efter Followis. &c.

Abst Gloriatu Nisi in Cruce Domini
nostri Iesu Christi,



C And Imprintit at the command, and
expenses of Maister Samuel
Jascuy, In Paris.

¶ 5 5 8

PLATE VII. Title of the 1558 octavo edition of *The Monarche*, showing the altered device of Jean Petit of Rouen



The warkis of the fa-

mous and worthie knicht Schir David Lyndesay
of the Bont, Alias, Lpoun King of Armes.

Newlie coorrectit, and vindicate from the
former errouris quhairwith this
war befoir coꝛruptit: and aug-
mentit with sindrie warkis
quhilk was not befoir
Imprentit.



¶ The contentis of the Buik, and qthar warkis ar
augmentit, the nixt syde sall schaw.

¶ Viuet etiam post funera virtus.

¶ IOB VII.

¶ Militia est vita hominis super terram.



80

Sold
Lr. 24
Art.

dated, but *The Tragedie of the Late Cardinal* is one of fifteen or sixteen without date. I see no reason for extending the known period of their collaboration, and would therefore date their edition of this poem not earlier than 1548. On the whole we are, I think, safe in ascribing the composition of the poem to January 1547, immediately after the submission of the assassins, Scot's quarto edition to late February or March 1547, and Day's edition to the early part of 1548. I prefer the earliest possible date for this edition because of Barrant's partisan editing. Moreover, Lindsay's works are not mentioned in Bale's *Summarium* of 1548, while Bale's *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, 60, does not mention his finding the *Tragedy* at Day's shop, although it does mention *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo* and the unknown *Acta sui Temporis*, to which I shall refer later. But when Bale visited John Allen's library he found not only a copy of *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, but copies of *The Tragedie of the Late Cardinal* and *The Monarche* as well, and these he specified in the *Catalogus* of 1559. Bale therefore must have visited Allen's library between 1555 and 1557, and must have visited Day's shop before 1554. Though this offers no immediate evidence for the date of publication, it does verify my contention that an edition of the poem did exist before 1554, but whether the copy in John Allen's library was in English or Scots remains to be proved.

The last piece of circumstantial evidence regarding the publication of a Scottish edition of *The Tragedie of the Late Cardinal* is concerned with an error which has been repeatedly made. Robert Lindsay of Pitcottie says (*History of Scotland, 1436-1565*, ii. 141) that about 28 December 1559 a Provincial Council of the Church held in Black Friars Church, Edinburgh, 'maid ane act that Schir Dawid Lyndsayis buike sould be 'condemnid and bruntt and so they performitt the same and 'bruntt it as 3e sall heir aftirwart.' Though Pitcottie forgets

to mention the subject again his statement has been accepted by all editors, and the book has always been identified as *The Monarche*. The records of the Provincial Council of 1559 exist (*Concilia Scotiae*, ii. 140-79). They are complete, and no mention is made of any proscription whatever, and on general historical grounds there is reason to doubt whether the Church in 1559, tottering on the brink, and after the great outcry caused by the burning of the old man Walter Milne in April 1558, would have dared to carry out further repressive measures. But one further statement has been entirely overlooked. Henry Charteris's epistle prefixed to the 1568 edition states that 'this play [*Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*] did enter with 'sic grief in thair hartis, that thay studyit be all menis to be 'auengit thair of. Thay conuenit thair prouinciall counsellis, 'thay consultit how thay suld best sustene thair kingdome 'inclynand to ruine, quhilk laitlie had gottin sa publict ane 'wound : thay zeid about to haue his hail warkis condempnit, 'for hereticall, and cessit not, in Kirk and market, publictlie 'and priuelie, to rage and rayll aganis him, as ane Heretike.' Charteris therefore states that the production of *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* at Edinburgh on 12 August 1554 was the cause of the proscription.

Pitscottie is notoriously inaccurate as a historian. But is Charteris absolutely reliable? If we turn to other statements of his we find that his dates are very loosely calculated. The only date he can offer for the performance of the *Satyre* is to say that it occurred between the election of Marie de Lorraine to the Queen-Regency (12 April 1554) and the burning of Walter Milne (28 April 1558). In another place, trying to conceal his real ignorance of the date of Lindsay's death (early April 1555), he states that 'ane lytill befoir' Lindsay's death the Church burnt George Wishart (1 March 1546); and 'schortlie efter' Lindsay's death the Church burnt Walter Milne (28 April 1558). Charteris therefore places Lindsay's

death within a range of twelve years, and his chronology is as hazy as Pitscottie's. And it is not surprising, therefore, that the Provincial Council of 1559 provides no evidence in support of the statements of either.

But, ten years earlier than Pitscottie's date, on 17 November 1549, a Provincial Council met at Black Friars, Edinburgh, the records of which (*Concilia Scotiae*, ii. 120) include a most sweeping proscription of heretical books, and the banning of heretical preaching and propaganda of all kinds. After proscribing those men and books which deny the dogmas of the faith the proscription continues :

Item ut unusquisque Ordinarius intra suam diœcesim perquirat, qui apud se detinet aliquos libros rithmorum, seu cantilenarum vulgarium, scandalosa ecclesiasticorum et hominum vel constitutionum vituperia et probra, seu famosos libellos, aut quamcumque hæresim in se continentes ; et ubi comperti fuerint, prohibeantur sub pœnis Actorum Parlamenti, atque confiscentur, et comburantur ; interdicaturque universaliter eorundum usus, mercatura, impressio et lectura sub similibus pœnis.

This proscription was the ecclesiastical response to hundreds of popular poems which were circulating through Scotland after the Cardinal's assassination, none of which survive in printed form, although many must be included in the manuscripts of satirical poems of the Scottish reformation. Two years later the State itself established a censorship on printing. The Act of 1551 complains of the large numbers of printed books of Scottish origin breeding hostility to the Church, ballads, songs, 'blasphematiounis', rhymes, and tragedies both in Latin and English, and ordains that no printer shall in future print any books, ballad, song, blasphamation, rhyme, or tragedy, in English or in Latin, unless he has obtained the permission of 'sum wyse and discreit persounis depute thairto be the Ordinaris' and licence to print obtained of the Queen and Governor.

This is doubly important. It has the air of ecclesiastical

origin, and it will, in fact, be found that six of the seven restrictions on printing in Scotland between 1525 and 1559 are inspired by the Church. After the death of the Cardinal the Church learnt to fear these satirical poems against it, and against its dignitaries, and it would appear to me quite evident that in 1549 the Church had lost so much of its hold over the people that it felt compelled to call in the assistance of the State by the Act of 1551. Moreover, we have seen that the meeting of the Privy Council in 1547, which was inquiring why Scot had not been arrested, consisted of members and supporters of the Church, and their insistent demand for his arrest at such a time can only signify that he had been responsible for the publication of an attack on the Church, or, what was more likely, on its late-deceased Cardinal. All the evidence therefore drives us to the conclusion that it was the publication of *The Tragedie of the Late Cardinal Beaton* which caused John Scot's flight and attempted arrest, and that it was this poem, and not *The Monarchie*, which was proscribed by the Church, and *perhaps* burnt. All evidence, therefore, tends to show that an edition of the poem was published by John Scot, probably at St. Andrews, though not improbably at Dundee, in February or March 1547. Petit's 1558 quarto edition is a paginary reprint of this edition, and thus preserves its format for us. We at once notice that the number of lines to the page is greater than in any other poem in Petit's volume. Either, therefore, the original edition was unusually large in format, or Scot was again saving paper by crowding his pages. The similarity which Petit's edition has with his edition of *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo* need not disturb these conclusions; it simply offers further proof that Scot had learnt the art of printing from Davidson.

IV. THE DEPLORATIOUN OF THE DEITH OF QUENE MAGDALENE. This remaining poem in Petit's edition does not appear in Scot's 1559 volume, but it appears in his 1568 volume. It is

therefore much more difficult here to apply the law of typographical identities and differences, but textual collation, and observation of the punctuation, has satisfied me that the two texts are drawn from a common printed ancestor. The date for this is easily determined, for Madeleine, the first wife of James V, died in June 1537, and the poem must have been composed and printed almost immediately, especially as her successor, Marie de Lorraine, arrived a year later. Composition and printing would, therefore, both be accomplished in June or July 1537. Again, I believe that Petit's quarto edition preserves the appearance of the original, which would be the work of Davidson.

V. THE COMPLAYNT OF SIR DAVID LINDSAY. This was printed by Scot in place of *The Deploration*. What was Scot's authority for this text? The evidence is here too slight to build any reliable argument upon. Scot uses a few small Lombardic capitals at the beginnings of lines, for the similar use of which in his work it would be extremely hard to find parallels. He divides his poem into two parts, leaving for him, indeed for any printer, a considerable space between the two portions. He begins the second section with a few ornaments and the imposing 'spread' of an opening line:

NOW Potent Prince I say to the

the form of which should be compared to the line quoted from *The Tragedie of the Late Cardinal* [*ante*, p. 12]. All I suspect is that Scot would not have done all this without a model before him: he would not have been, I feel, so careful to reproduce the fripperies of a manuscript.

THE FIRST FIVE EDITIONS which, I think, I may claim to have established are thus:

1. *The Dreame of Sir David Lindsay*. Composed c. 1528.
Edinburgh: Thomas Davidson: 1528-30.

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2. *The Complaynt of Sir David Lindsay*. Composed c. 1529. Edinburgh: Thomas Davidson: 1529-30.
3. *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*. Edinburgh: Thomas Davidson: 14 December 1530.
4. *The Deploration of the Deith of Quene Magdalene*. Edinburgh: Thomas Davidson: June-July 1537.
5. *The Tragedie of the Late Cardinal Beaton*. St. Andrews or Dundee: John Scot: February-March 1547.

(For the remaining two lost editions *vide post*, pp. 27-8.)

PETIT'S QUARTO AND OCTAVO EDITIONS appeared in 1558. These editions, identical in contents, offered five poems—*The Monarche*, *The Dreame of Sir David Lindsay*, *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, *The Tragedie of the Late Cardinal*, and *The Deploration of the Deith of Quene Magdalene*. Four of these have separate titles, *The Dreame* and *The Deploration* being issued under the common title of *The Dreame*. The imprint stated that they were published at the command and expenses of Master Samuel Jascuy, in Paris, 1558, and that copies were actually on sale in Paris is proved by a contemporary inscription on the first title-page of the Cock Library quarto copy in Durham, indicating that copies were on sale at the 'Sign of the Eagle' (Plate 5).

I have not been able to identify 'Samuel Jascuy', in whose name I suspect an anagram, *Cuyias* or *Cujas*. Dr. P. S. Allen suggested to me the name of the great French jurisprudent, Cujas, or Cujacius, whose name, however, was not Samuel, and who never allowed himself at any time to be drawn into religious controversy, and in 1558 was a young professor at Lyons. Nor is identification of the printer possible from the quarto copies. The title-pages of the octavo edition, however, contain a device in place of the woodcut 'portrait' of Lindsay found in the quarto. This device is a modified form of the device of Jean Petit of Rouen (Silvestre, *Marques Typographiques*, No. 340), the legend being deleted, and the full

name of the printer, .I.Petit., being cut down to the bare initials (Plate 7). Petit seems to have ceased work in 1557, and if so the two editions of Lindsay must have been the work of his unknown successor. I have followed previous example in calling them after Petit's name.

Petit's work was to make reprints of earlier quartos. *The Monarche* has long been known to be a paginary reprint of Scot's 1554 edition. The inscription on Scot's title, *And Imprintit at the Conmand and Expensis off Doctor MACHABEVS, in Copmanhouin*, was of course omitted. The motto at the foot of the title of the 1554 editions was raised higher on the page, and follows immediately after the title. It has been thought that the edition of *The Monarche* used by Petit was deficient in four leaves, F 2, F 3, F 6, and F 7, for both the quarto and octavo editions are found in two states, one omitting these leaves, the other containing them as cancels. Until late in December 1928 I had not found a copy of the quarto not containing the cancels. Laing stated that both states were known to him, in both quarto and octavo, but I have been quite unable to locate any quarto copy in the first state which can have been known to him (Laing makes more than one statement like this; in two other instances, in Lindsay bibliography, I have been able to prove him incorrect). Laing found what had happened in the original printing to make cancels necessary, but erred in detail. What follows, I was able to discover from a comparison of the two states of the octavo edition.

Two passages were omitted by Petit. Page d 6 a of the octavo edition ended with the line 'Off large pasis of mesure bene' (l. 1733), and the next page, d 6 b, the verso, began with the line 'He maid thame gret persuasioun' (l. 1836). Lines 1735-1835 were therefore missing, and correspond exactly with leaves F 2 and F 3 of the 1554 edition. Again, page d 8 a ended with line 'Quho first this Miserrrie began' (l. 1945), and the next page, d 8 b, the verso, began with the line 'And pece-

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ably of that Regioun' (l. 2057). Lines 1946-2056 were therefore missing, and correspond exactly with leaves F 6 and F 7 of the 1554 edition, and are the conjoint leaves of F 2 and F 3. The corresponding leaves of the 1558 quarto are in sheet G. It is important to note that the omissions in the quarto come between recto and verso, and not between verso and recto, when they might have been due to a binder's error. When, however, Petit found that four leaves were missing, he cancelled the whole of sheet G in the quarto, and the whole of sheet d in the octavo, reprinted them correctly, and added four extra leaves to each edition to absorb the new matter he was accepting into his text. The restored passages in the quarto occupy G 5 a-G 6 b and G 9 a-G 10 b, and in the octavo d 6 b-d 8 b and dd 2 b-dd 4 a line 19. As the octavo edition is not a paginary reprint it was pure luck that in this edition he did not have to spread over more than four extra leaves.

All copies of the quarto edition which I was able to see before December 1928 also contained cancel leaves O 7 and O 8. These cancels are inserted into the volume, and two stubs, either those of the cancels or of the excised leaves, are to be found in the British Museum copy between O 6 and O 7. There is no trace of parallel cancels in the octavo edition. The copy of the quarto I have recently traced tells us what happened. O 8 a had been backed on to O 7 a, and O 7 b took the rightful place of O 8 a. These cancels have not been previously noted. But to complicate matters still further the stanza beginning 'Rychtso the auld Intoxicate Saturne' (ll. 160-9), found on B 1 b of the 1554 edition, is missing from the *middle* of A 4 a of all the octavo copies, whereas it is not missing from any of the quarto copies. I have no explanation to offer for this phenomenon.¹

¹ I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my great indebtedness to Mr. F. S. Ferguson for repeated advice and help; and to Mr. Harold Marshall for the long loan of his copy of the quarto 1558, the only one I know in the first state.

It is highly probable that the quarto edition was printed first. The omission of the O 7 and O 8 cancels in the octavo suggests that this edition was printed after these had been detected, but not before the discovery of the omission of the four leaves. The collations of both editions of *The Monarche* only are as follows :

QUARTO : *First state*—(A) 4, B-E 4, F-Q 8, R 4

Second state—(A) 4, B-E 4, F 8, G 12, H-Q 8, R 4

OCTAVO : *First state*—a-n 8

Second state—a-d 8, dd 4, e-n 8 (n 8 wanting in all copies, probably blank).

The collation of the minor poems in each edition is separate, but need not be given here.

SCOT'S EDITIONS. The history of Scot's editions of *The Monarche* is bound up with that of his edition of 1559. The 1554 volume contained the first edition of *The Monarche* alone, four whole copies and one fragmentary of which are known to me in this separate state. But three copies of the first edition of *The Monarche* are also found bound up with Scot's minor poems of 1559, and, further, three additional copies of the minor poems of 1559 are found bound up with the second edition of *The Monarche*. For record purposes I have arranged these editions into three groups :

Group I. First edition of *The Monarche* only.

Group II. First edition of *The Monarche*+minor poems of 1559.

Group III. Second edition of *The Monarche*+minor poems of 1559.

There are thus seven whole and one fragmentary copies of the first edition of *The Monarche* ; three whole copies of the second edition ; and six copies of the minor poems known to me. The second edition of *The Monarche* was a paginary reprint of the first, while a copy of *Group III* was used as the parent of the 1568 reprint, to which was appended a second

series of minor poems is inexplicable, unless he wished to start the signatures after *The Monarchie* with a new alphabet. But the position, and the signatures, of the 1559 *Tragedie* would indicate that Scot at first intended to include this poem only, and that he did not think it worth while to reprint other minor poems of Lindsay's until after he had seen both Petit's editions, when he was spurred to include them in his volume, but took his revenge on Petit by condemning his misprints and errors. This he did on the last page of his minor poems, but when he reprinted *The Monarchie* a short time afterwards, he repeated his warnings on the title. Now his references to Petit's editions make 1559 the earliest possible date for his edition, which is undated, but I conjecture the following history: First Edition of *The Monarchie*, c. 1554—Scot's reprint of *The Tragedie of the Late Cardinal*, c. 1558-9—(1559, arrival of Petit's editions in Scotland)—Scot's reprints of *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, *The Dreame*, and *The Complaynt*, c. 1559-60—Scot's Second Edition of *The Monarchie*, c. 1560. It is at once amusing and pathetic to think of Scot taking the first opportunity to reprint the poem which had brought the wrath of the Church upon him in 1547. At all events it is quite clear that he had not sold out his first edition of *The Monarchie* when, in 1559, the rivalry of Petit's edition, rendered more acute by Petit's brazen reprint of his own still unsold first edition of *The Monarchie*, made him produce his series of minor poems.

TWO OTHER LOST ORIGINALS. The value of the 1568 edition is that it offers us the interesting preface of the bookseller Henry Charteris, who commissioned it, and a second series of minor poems, one of which, *The Deploration of the Deith of Quene Magdalene*, had already been reprinted by Petit. Of the second series of minor poems I suspect two to have been reprinted from lost Scottish printed originals. *The Confession and Complaynt of Bagesche* (vi) appears, down to line 120, in Purfoote's English editions of 1575 and 1581, with the same abbreviated

title to be found in the 1568 edition. It is hardly possible for Purfoote to have used a mutilated copy of the 1568 edition, complete down to where his poem breaks off, for it would break off, in the 1568 volume, in the middle of a page. It is, of course, possible that the page was torn. But it is more probable that an earlier printed text, with some justification for mutilation, on account of its age, had found its way into Purfoote's hands. Moreover, that Purfoote had access to editions other than Scot's or Petit's is proved by the readings of his edition of *The Dreame*, which offers a text midway between Petit's and Scot's. Purfoote omits the epistle to James V, which he perhaps thought would not suit English readers. Of the 49 textual variants, recorded by me earlier in this paper, following the epistle (i.e. beginning with l. 136) Purfoote has 29 readings of Petit against 17 of Scot, while 3 are not recognizable owing to the translation. His text includes all but one of the sub-titles found in Scot. Whether, however, Purfoote used a printed text or a manuscript I have not yet decided. The remaining poems of his editions were obviously printed from Scottish originals—*The Monarchie* from Scot's 1554, *The Papyngo* from Davidson's 1530, and *The Deploration* from Davidson's edition of 1537. One other poem in the 1568 volume, *The Jousting of Watson and Barbour* (vii), seems also to have been printed from a lost original. I cannot speak with such certainty of *Kitteis Confession* or *Ane Supplication aganst Syde Taillis*, while Charteris himself was doubtful as to the authorship of *Ane Description of Peder Coffeis*.

THE LATER EDITIONS. Laing's work on the so-called 1571 edition of Scot for Charteris was not happy. The Bodleian possesses a copy bearing a title dated 1571, but the date at the end of *The Monarchie* is 1569. This copy lacks leaves D 1, 2 K 5, 2 L 2, 2 L 3, 2 L 6, 2 L 7, 2 L 8, while 2 I and 2 K are transposed. St. John's College Library, Cambridge, also possesses a copy which is almost identical with the Bodleian copy, but

wants A 1-A 4 and the whole of sheet 2 L. From both copies, therefore, the colophons on 2 L 8 are missing. It was quickly noticed by Laing that whereas the St. John's College copy possessed on A 8 b an oval ornamental block the Bodleian copy had a block portraying two heads, and he assumed that there had been two impressions in 1571. In this he has been followed by all Scottish bibliographers. But the collations of both these copies are identical with that of the 1568 edition, and from the beginning of the text onwards to the end they are absolutely identical with the 1568 edition, with the exception of the date 1569 (for 1568) on R 1 b. Only the preliminaries differ, and in point of fact the preliminaries of the St. John's College copy are identical with those of the 1568 edition, from which it differs only in respect of the date on R 1 b. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that there was no new edition in 1571 at all. Presumably all the edition printed in 1568 was not bound up at once. In 1569 a new title appears, and R 1, a single leaf, was reprinted with the new date, and this accounts for the St. John's College copy; while in 1571 the remaining unsold sheets, together with the 1569 R 1, were issued with a new set of preliminaries, thus accounting for the Bodleian copy. The text of both copies, R 1 excepted, is therefore that of the 1568 edition, and since there is no copy of this edition, with its proper title, in an English public library (Sir Leicester Harmsworth owns the only copy in England) we must regret that both the Bodleian and Cambridge copies are defective. The Bodleian copy offers an interesting contribution to the history of the 1568 volume. In this copy there is a stub between 2 F 8 and 2 G 1, and it clearly belongs to 2 H 1, a single sheet. This would therefore suggest that when Scot was reprinting the first series of minor poems from the 1559 edition *The Testament of the Late Cardinal* (*vide* p. 26 for its transference from sheet S in 1559 to sheet 2 I in 1568) had in some mysterious way been forgotten, and that in its earliest state the 1568 volume actually

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finished at 2 H 1, on a single leaf, as *The Monarche* had always done. Then, I suggest, before copies were actually issued, *The Testament of the Late Cardinal* was remembered, and the second series of minor poems were added. I repeat the collation of the 1568 edition to make this point clear :

✠ 4 A-B 4, C-F 8, G 4, H-Q 8, R 1	A-B 8, C 6, D- F 8, G 4, H 1	I	K-L 8
<i>The Monarche</i> and preliminaries	First series of minor poems, ex- cluding <i>The Car-</i> <i>dinal</i> . Volumes originally in- tended to end at H 1, a single leaf.	<i>The</i> <i>Car-</i> <i>dinal</i>	Second Series of minor poems.

The history of the successive editions down to the last in 1776-7 may be told in brief. The 1568, with its reissues of ? 1569 and 1571, was the last printed by Scot. An excellent quarto edition by Bassandyne appeared in 1574, with the signatures normalized to A 6, B-Z 8, Æ 6. Charteris's prefatory matter was omitted, and a detailed index was compiled. Of this edition only one copy is extant. Henry Charteris continued to have editions printed for him, and one of these editions has again given rise to confusion. Three copies are extant, one in Bodley, one in Peterborough Cathedral Library, and one in the National Library of Scotland. The Bodleian copy has the lower half of the title torn away, but is otherwise perfect. The photograph (Plate 8) shows the upper half of the device of John Ross, which was discovered by me lying concealed under the paper used to repair the torn lower half. The Peterborough copy has no title, but careful collation shows that it is identical with the Bodleian copy, even to an arabesque diamond leaning to the right found on A 8 b. The National Library copy, however, has a different title, and in place of the

diamond on A 8 b it has a triangle. As in the case of the 1568 and so-called 1571 editions, however, from B 1 onwards the copies are identical throughout, and here again, therefore, would seem to be a case of a reissue with fresh preliminaries, the National Library copy bearing a title dated 1582, while for the mutilated Bodleian and Peterborough Cathedral copies the assumed date of 1580 may be confidently retained. The National Library copy may therefore be styled a reissue of the 1580 edition, printed by John Ross for Henry Charteris, with a new set of preliminaries.

Another edition was printed by Charteris in 1592. Five copies moreover remain of two distinct editions hitherto not distinguished or simply described as 1597. Here, in contrast with the 1568-71 and 1580-2 editions it is not the preliminaries which differ but the bodies. Two copies, to take two significant words on B 1 a, read *The Prologue* [Quaritch; Crawford], while three have *Ane Prologue* [Durham; Quaritch (2), one of these wanting the preliminaries]. As it is impossible to identify the real 1597 edition I propose to call them 1597a (*Ane Prologue*), and 1597τ (*The Prologue*), without bias of priority. It must be understood that, preliminaries excepted, they are different editions. I have noted the principal differences in my bibliography.

I regret that at the present moment there is a lacuna in my history of editions of the *Works*. I have not seen the unique copy of the 1610 edition which is in the Henry E. Huntington Library, and I cannot say for certain whether it was the 1610 or the 1614 edition, both printed by Hart, which, by reducing the format from quarto to octavo, and by substituting a small preface for the old-fashioned rhetoric of Charteris, started the history of the editions of Lindsay's *Works* on its second phase. I hope to clear this up shortly. Hart printed editions in 1614, 1617, and 1619, neat delightful volumes, and his successors in 1630 and 1634, and other editions were published in 1628,

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? 1645, 1648, 1665, but the 1670 edition begins the series of duodecimo editions and smaller. But from 1568 to 1776 the editions are reprinted one from another with surprising fidelity to the work of the predecessor. This happily makes textual collation entirely unnecessary, for constant reprinting, with constant normalization of the text to suit the speech and orthography of successive generations, practically implies a perpetuation of errors on the one hand, and a complete loss of the poet's own language on the other. The title-pages themselves offer an interesting study in the perpetuation of printer's errors. Charteris's title of 1568 is the model for the whole series, but in later editions two major compositors' blunders persist. Charteris printed 'and augmentit', and with the exception of the 1574 edition ('And') this is continued faithfully down to 1634. In the 1648 edition a compositor altered this to 'And augmentit', which is reproduced by succeeding compositors right down to 1776. Again, on Charteris's 1568 title occurred a motto beginning 'Vivet etiam', which was followed by the printers down to 1696. The compositor of the title of the 1709 edition, however, blundered into 'Vivit etiam', and succeeding compositors followed him to his particular Valhalla. Charteris also announced that the list of contents would be found on the 'nixt syde'. This was followed by all compositors down to 1597, with the exception of the 1582 edition, whose compositor cut the legend short. But though Hart dropped the announcement, he and his fellow-printers continued to print the list of contents overleaf down to 1648. For the 1665 edition the contents were placed at the end of the volume, and so they continued to be placed down to 1776, with the exception of the editions of 1712 and 1754, for which none seem to have been issued. Two other episodes are of amusing interest. The 1582 edition announced the inclusion of *The Historie of Squyer Meldrum*, but it was not included. That did not prevent the 1592 and 1597 editions from continuing to announce

its inclusion. But from 1568 to 1754 the legend is maintained in the list of contents that *The Complaynt of Sir David Lindsay* was omitted from the 'printings of London and Rouen', and when an edition printed in 1754 refers in this way to editions printed in 1566 and 1558 respectively, compositorial ineptitude and tradition cannot go much further.

THE HISTORIE OF SQUYER MELDRUM. Editions of this require separate treatment, since, despite the announcement in the 1582, 1592, and 1597 editions, the poem seems never to have been included in the *Works*. But as in the case of Lindsay's other poems our text of this poem, with its pendant, *The Testament of Squyer Meldrum*, is derived from a second, and possibly a third, edition, the first having been completely lost. This first edition seems to have appeared about 1582, for the will of Robert Gourlaw, who died of the plague in 1585, records 'Item, the Squyer of Meldrum, blak, sax, at xij d. the peice'. The earliest extant edition, that of 1594, is well printed, and I assume that Charteris again made a paginary reprint of the lost earlier edition. I have, however, not the slightest evidence to indicate whether the lost ? 1582 edition was the first printed edition or a copy of a still earlier quarto. From its subsequent popularity as a 'Romance' we may not unreasonably surmise that the poem was also printed soon after it had been written. It was never included in editions of the *Works* before the edited edition of Lindsay published by Chalmers, but strangely enough most editions of the poem seem to have appeared at the same time as editions of the *Works*, while some at least appeared at the same time as reprints of the old-time *Bevis of Hampton* and *Gray-Steel*, as in 1711. Editions appeared in ? 1582, 1594, 1610, 1669, 1683, 1696, and 1711, but I think we may surmise that one or two others have been lost.

ANE SATYRE OF THE THRIE ESTAITIS. The bibliographical problems of this cannot be so easily disposed of. But whereas throughout this paper bibliography has been the handmaid of

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literature, attempting to evaluate the texts which editors must use, 'pure' bibliography cannot advance much towards a satisfactory explanation of the text of Lindsay's *Morality Play*. Six copies of the unique edition printed by Robert Charteris in 1602 now remain. Close textual collation of the five copies in England, the sixth being in the Huntington Library, shows varying states in the texts offered by the various copies, considerable correcting having been done in the press. The best text, as shown by collation, is that of the Bodley copy *Gough, Scotland*, 221, which has never been accepted, but since it proves to represent the text in its most advanced state I have adopted this text as my authority. It is interesting to note, too, that it is the only copy extant printed on fine grade paper, the others being all on rough paper. The collation of the five English copies has brought forward one very interesting fact. The 'press-corrections' hardly affect the middle of the volume, from about line 1172 to line 3900, which only has two corrections, in ll. 1765 and 3432. I will not give here the lists of variants, even to illustrate this point. It will be enough to state that the typographical errors fall into three main groups: (1) Errors in other copies which are corrected in *Gough, Scotland*, 221; (2) Errors not corrected in *Gough, Scotland*, 221 (these are nearly all in the uncorrected middle of the volume); (3) Correct readings in other copies which are errors in *Gough, Scotland*, 221 (three only, all of which can be explained).

There can be no question but that the 1602 quarto is the first printed edition of the *Satyre*. The only explanation I can offer for the tardy appearance of the play is that printers in Scotland after the Reformation dared not print plays for fear of incurring the wrath of the Kirk; but from about 1590 onwards James VI began his magnificent stand against the elders to restore to the people, if it were not too late, some measure of liberty in games and festivals, while in the 1590's occurred his own quarrels with the elders regarding English players he

himself had invited to Edinburgh. He did not give way, and some three or four years later we find the Edinburgh printers issuing four or five printed editions of plays, among them Lindsay's *Satyre* in 1602, nearly fifty years after the death of its author, himself one of the greatest of Scottish reformers, and a man of whom it is truly said that he sowed the seed the fruits of which were reaped by Knox. Ecclesiastical ingratitude can hardly go further than in banning a play which did more than anything to arouse a people from lethargy.

We do, however, possess two texts of the *Satyre*. The other is contained in the Bannatyne MS. (1568). The Bannatyne MS. version is not complete, for Bannatyne stated that he was deliberately omitting portions. His text, however, contains some few lines not contained in the quarto. The MS. has therefore been used to patch up the quarto, while Pinkerton's original preference of the MS. version to the quarto has been frequently derided. Pinkerton later, however, nearly hit on the truth, that the Bannatyne MS. version has an independent value, for very close textual collation of one passage shows distinctly the hand of a reviser of the quarto text, and we can only assume that the reviser was Lindsay. I reprint the two texts of this passage side by side. It must be understood, of course, that the Bannatyne MS. version of the episode is continuous in the MS.

Flattery Friar is ordered to be unfrocked by the Sergeants (Bann. MS. 2941-80) and is discovered to be Feigned Flattery who had caused the King to be led astray. This is retained in the quarto version (3603-42) but a Prioress is included. The following revision of the quarto text was therefore necessary: six lines condemning the Prioress to deprivation, and a rearrangement of the dialogue.

*Bannatyne Manuscript Version (2981-96)*¹

Heir sall thay spuizge flattrie of the kings babett.

Gudcounsale.

Schir, be the haly trinitie,
this same is fengeit flattrie,
I ken him be his face :

Belevand for to get promotion,
he said that his name was devotioun,
And so begyld your grace.

2985

First sariand.

Cum on, *Schir* Flattrie, be the mess,
We sall leir 3ow to dance
Witbin ane bony littill spaiçe,
Ane new paven of france.

2990

*Quarto 1602 Version (3643-3706)*²

Heir sall thay spuizge Flattrie of the Freirs habite.

Gude-Counsell.

Sir, be the halie Trinitie,
This same is feingeit Flattrie,
I ken him be his face :

Belevand for to get promotioun
He said that his name was Devotioun,
And sa begylit your grace.

3645

First Sergeant.

Cum on, my Ladie Prioires,
We sall leir 3ow to dance,
And that within ane lytill space,
Ane new pavin of France.

3650

*Heir sall thay spuizge the Prioires and scho sall haue
ane kirtill of silk vnder hir habite.*

Now brother, be the Masse,
Be my iudgement I think
This halie Prioires
Is turnit in ane cowlclink.

3655

¹ As transcribed by me for publication in my edition of Lindsay. Punctuation mine.

² As prepared for publication. Punctuation mine.

Piores.

I gif my freinds my malisoun,
 That me compellit to be ane Nun,
 And wald nocht let me marie :
 It was my freind[is] greadines
 That gart me be ane Piores :
 Now hartlie them I warie.
 Howbeit that Nunnis sing nichts and dayis,
 Their hart waitis nocht quhat thair mouth sayis :
 The suith I 3ow declair,
 Makand 3ow intimation,
 To christis congregatioun
 Nunnis ar nocht necessair.
 Bot I sall do the best I can,
 And marie sum gude honest man,
 And brew gude aill and tun.
 Mariage, be my opinioun,
 It is better Religioun
 As to be freir or Nun.

3660

3665

3670

Flattry.

Now, my lord, for goddis saik latt nocht hang me, 2991
 Howbeit thir widdiefowis wald wrang me. . .

Flat[terie] Fre[ir].

My Lords, for Godis saik let not hang me, 3675
 Howbeit that widdiefowis wald wrang me. . .

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It will at once be seen that in the Bannatyne MS. Flattery's appeal not to be hanged is in proper dramatic sequence, the threat of hanging being conveyed by the sergeant's prophecy that he will soon be dancing on a gibbet. But the quarto version nowhere mentions the hanging of the Friar: it is the Prioress who will 'swing'. Here, therefore, Lindsay's introduction of the Prioress into the episode of the unfrocking and exposing of sinful clergy, and his transference of the threat of hanging from the Friar to the Prioress, has made him forget the exact nature of the Friar's appeal, in the Bannatyne MS. version to the King, and in the quarto version to the Spirituality, and the Friar's appeal not to be hanged has therefore no rightful place in the quarto version. Its presence reveals the clumsy 'join' of the reviser.

The reviser can only be Lindsay himself, and I suggest that these revisions were undertaken for the performance of the play on the Playfield at the Greenside, Edinburgh, on 12 August 1554, before Marie de Lorraine herself. The actual name of the play given on that date is not given in the records of the burgh of Edinburgh, but as the list of 'properties' provided¹ fits the *Satyre* exactly I have no hesitation in linking that unnamed play with Lindsay's. Other editors have been less bold, but I think the evidence is almost conclusive. No other editor, however, has tried to solve the problems of the two versions of the play, for the sole evidence of revision here given seems never to have been noticed before. My deductions from the evidence of revision I reserve for another place. I note here that in revising his play for the Edinburgh performance Lindsay seems to have enlarged the representation of the Prioress, to bring her more firmly into the satire, and to have added the sermons.

The Bannatyne MS. version must then be the play as produced at Cupar in 1552, the first performance, so far as we

¹ Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1528-57, p. 198.

know, before the public, Cupar, and Fifeshire generally, being a hotbed of reform. It must, however, be impressed on the reader that the Bannatyne MS. version is not complete, long as it is, for Bannatyne, who compiled his manuscript while still a young man, only transcribed those portions of the play which appealed, principally, to his sense of humour. The Bannatyne MS. version has therefore come down to us in blocks, not even in the same order as in the quarto, for Bannatyne just chose portions which appealed to him. There are seven of these blocks or extracts, together with an eighth, banns, and in the past they have been regarded as separate plays extracted from one large play, and called Interludes. Bannatyne himself is responsible for this word, which has entailed untold confusion, particularly among historians of English drama who have not bothered to examine either version of the play, which, however complicated in structure through breadth of scope and variety of *dramatis personae*, is nevertheless complete in itself. But to this loose talk of Lindsay's 'interludes' is also due much of the modern tradition that Lindsay wrote 'comedies and tragedies'.

Though it is interesting to remember that William Drummond of Hawthornden presented a manuscript of the *Satyre* to Edinburgh University Library in 1627, long since lost, after 1602 the play remained completely forgotten until the eighteenth century, when Allan Ramsay began his transcriptions from the Bannatyne MS. The transcription still exists, but I have failed to get into communication with the present owner. It was done in two instalments, sixty-seven foolscap sheets being written in 1724, and the remaining forty-eight, after a long interval, in 1743. This transcription was originally intended for the third volume of *The Evergreen*, which never appeared. At Ramsay's death in 1758 the transcript passed into the hands of his son, Allan Ramsay junior (1713-84), court painter to George III, and friend of Johnson and Walpole. On the fly-leaf of the transcript is his inscription, 'This Manu-

script belongs to Allan Ramsay of Harley Street', and an interesting memorandum by Bishop Percy is still attached: 'This MS. belongs to Allan Ramsay Esq^r. Serjeant-Painter to 'the King and was lent by him to me. Thomas Percy. June '27th 1774.'¹ In 1779 Hugh Arnot published, in Appendix I of his *History of Edinburgh*, an excerpt from the transcript, which he described as being in the possession of David Garrick, to whom it had possibly been lent. For a historian of Edinburgh, however, Arnot displayed singular lack of interest in the play, and I doubt whether he had read more than the one 'interlude' he describes.

But so little was known of the play that Lindsay, because of the Bannatyne MS. 'interludes', was accredited with a number of 'Plays and Satires', and even Percy found time to discuss whether the *Satyre* were a play or a satire, and finally decided it was a Moral Play or Morality, a decision with which Cardonnell, writing to Pinkerton, 5 March 1787, solemnly agrees. But in *Biographia Dramatica*, 1812, doubt still exists. Under Lindsay one reads, 'Lindsay's Play. See Play'. Under 'Play' the editors refer to Pinkerton's edition without once disclosing the title! Pinkerton's edition of the 'interludes' had appeared in 1792. When they had been printed off he found a copy of the 1602 quarto (actually the copy with the 1604 cancel title), and appended those portions of the quarto which are missing from the Bannatyne MS., in the hope of producing a complete if chopped-up text, and he added a recommendation to future editors to reprint the quarto. Pinkerton's attempt earned the full contempt of Chalmers, but it was certainly the best he could do in the circumstances, for he seems to have been rather badly treated by the transcriber he employed.

In March 1802 there appeared in the *Scot's Magazine* (liv. 236) a letter signed 'Philo-Dramaticus' asking if Lindsay's

¹ G. Neilson, 'A Bundle of Letters', in *Essays and Studies*, viii. 108-42.

Satire had been published, and where copies were to be obtained, but in view of the publication of Sibbald's edition in that year the anonymous writer must stand suspected of being no other than Sibbald himself, indulging in a little 'Puff Preliminary'. Sibbald stupidly divided the play into acts and scenes. He does not clearly state the provenance of his text, but appears to use the quarto to patch up the Bannatyne MS. Yet Sibbald appears to have toyed with the idea that the Bannatyne MS. version represented the earliest form of the play, but seems to have thought that the quarto version was the one produced at Cupar in 1552. He does not seem to have been aware of the performance at Edinburgh in 1554, and perhaps thought that the Bannatyne MS. version was that given at Linlithgow in 1540, of which performance only the account given by Sir William Eure to Cromwell remains (B.M. MSS. Reg. 7, c. xvi, ff. 137-9). When Chalmers came to edit the *Satire* for his edition of Lindsay (3 vols. 1806) previous editors of the play fell easy victims to his mace. Chalmers was fortunate enough to be able to use two copies of the quarto, one of which bore the 1604 cancel title, and he concluded 'from the many differences between them, that these are different editions', and chose the 1604-title text for his edition. Later, Laing, in preparing his own edition (2 vols. 1871, 3 vols. 1879), collated the 1604-title copy with Chalmers's own copy of the 1602-title quarto, which was then at Britwell, and finding that both copies bore an identical colophon with the 1602 date in it, dismissed Chalmers's statement and decision as of no value, for the 1604 cancel title for the London market simply covers a copy of the 1602 quarto. But Chalmers was right in detecting variations in the copies. What he overlooked was that corrections might be made in the press during printing, and hence what he called a 'second edition', misled as he was by the 1604 title, is simply a copy with a few more press corrections than another. Laing was in turn wrong in arguing that all the copies are of

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equal textual value, and grievously wrong in attempting to patch up the so-called deficiencies of the quarto with extracts from the Bannatyne MS. version. But after the truly lamentable blunders of editors it is not surprising to find bibliographers also stumbling. Despite the excellent work of Chalmers, Halliwell uses Pinkerton's concoction as his authority. Wholly ignoring Chalmers, whose edition of Lindsay is still quite as valuable as Laing's, Halliwell records the 'interludes' separately, and while recording that there are eight he only indexes seven. It is unlikely that he had ever heard of the 1602 quarto. But it is still more disappointing to find Hazlitt, in the *Manual for the Collector and Amateur* of 1892, revising Halliwell's work, and despite the additional work of Laing and the Early English Text Society, retaining Halliwell's entries *in toto*, not even mentioning the 1602 quarto, or its proper title. For the *Dictionary of National Biography* article on Lindsay Dr. Aeneas Mackay also adopted this completely erroneous arrangement, or disarrangement. After such a history it is therefore not surprising to find the popular *History of the Scots Stage* of R. Lawson, published as late as 1917, repeating the same enormity.

The bibliography of the works of Sir David Lindsay, to which this paper is a preface, is in itself the introduction to a complete edition of his works on which I have been engaged for the last four years. I would be very grateful to any reader who can introduce me to an edition or any copy of an edition not already noted in my census of copies. I still have to find copies of the following editions mentioned by Laing—*Works* 1610 (one copy in America), *Works* ? 1645 (mutilated, sold from Laing's Library), *Works* 1716, *Squyer Meldrum* 1696, *Supplication against Syde Tailis* 1690 (broadside, two copies known to Laing, one in National Library of Scotland which cannot be found, and one sold from Laing's Library).

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

REPORT AND ANNUAL MEETING

THE Annual Meeting of the Society for the reception of the Council's Report and the Balance Sheet and for the Election of Officers and Members of Council, and on this occasion for the approval of a Deed of Trust and the appointment of Trustees to hold property on behalf of the Society, was held at 20 Hanover Square on Monday, 18 March 1929.

Previous to the meeting the following Report from the Council and Balance Sheet were sent out to all Members of the Society, also the draft of the Deed of Trust.

ANNUAL REPORT

SINCE the issue of the last Annual Report the Society has to regret the deaths of Mr. Edward Hunt Dring, a prince among booksellers, for many years a member of this Council and persistent in his goodwill and helpfulness to the Society; of Mr. Henry R. Plomer, an enthusiastic record-searcher to whom the Society owes not only many papers reporting his finds, but also the impetus to supplement Mr. Gordon Duff's *Century of the English Book Trade* by four similar Dictionaries of Printers, Publishers and Booksellers, 1558-1775, of which he was a considerable contributor to one and the main author of the other three, the last still waiting to be issued; of Mr. W. B. Blaikie, a great printer; Mr. Cedric Chivers of Bath, who did good service to librarians by his strong bookbindings and his investigations into the durability of papers; Mr. R. C. Fisher, formerly a student of early prints and woodcuts; Mr. Kellas Johnstone, a zealous Scottish bibliographer; Sir John Murray, publisher, for many years Treasurer of the Roxburghe Club; Mr. Henry Yates Thompson, a great collector of illuminated manuscripts; and Mr. W. R. Wilson, sometime Superintendent of the Reading

Room and Assistant Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum.

Despite this heavy death-roll the membership of the Society has again increased, so that it now numbers 550 members ; but despite this increase the members who live in London and are able to attend meetings continue comparatively few and the attendances recently have not been good. There is also a real need for more members to offer to read papers or contribute to *The Library* and otherwise take an active part in the work of the Society, too much of which is at present falling on a few members, with the result that the Society's publications are held up, and the range of our work is not as wide as it should be.

In order to encourage those who have special knowledge of an interesting subject requiring *Facsimiles and Illustrations* either to popularize it or as a basis for further study, a new series has been started which is to take these words as its title. This will be uniform in size with our *Illustrated Monographs*, but will include a smaller amount of text than those recently published.

The first volume of this series, *German Renaissance Borders* (1508-40), illustrated by eighty collotype plates of examples selected by Mr. A. F. Johnson of the British Museum, should be distributed to members in March and should be followed before the summer holidays by the *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company* (1576-1603), edited by Dr. Greg, and by Mr. H. R. Plomer's *Dictionary of English Printers, Publishers and Booksellers* (1726-75) with appendixes for Scotland by Mr. G. H. Bushnell and for Ireland by Mr. E. R. McC. Dix. Early in the autumn it is hoped to publish in the series already mentioned *Facsimiles of the Types used by English Printers 1501-34*, selected and edited by Lieut.-Colonel Frank Swinton Isaac, in the interest of the closer dating of the undated books in the *Short Title Catalogue*. Most of the blocks for this work and also for the *English Ornamental Borders* (-1640), edited by

Dr. McKerrow and Mr. F. S. Ferguson (which it is hoped to issue in 1930), have been made and paid for, so that the Society's financial position will not be in any way strained by the cost of these books. Their issue, it is hoped, will compensate members for the two lean years during which they have only received *The Library* in return for their subscriptions.

As will be seen from the Balance Sheet, Mr. E. F. Bosanquet has already placed in the hands of the Treasurer the sum of £125 to defray the cost (£86 10s.) of the designs and dies for the Gold Medal for Bibliography and provide the first medals awarded. The first award will be announced at the Annual Meeting, at which also members will be asked to appoint the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, K.T., Dr. W. W. Greg, and Dr. R. B. McKerrow Trustees to hold the £200 Victoria 5% stock (1923-42) which Mr. Bosanquet is waiting to transfer to them for the provision of future medals out of the income; and also to hold the copyrights of the Catalogue of his library and other works of bibliographical interest which Mr. T. J. Wise has offered to the Society, and any further benefactions which from time to time it may be advisable to accept.

A copy of the draft of the deed constituting this Trust is circulated with this Report and members will be asked on 18 March to approve it, and to authorize the President and Treasurer to transfer the existing investments of the Society to the Trustees.

At the same Annual Meeting the Society will be asked to empower the Council to omit from the Rules the next time they are printed the third sentence in Rule VI beginning with the words 'The Society shall consist of not more than 300 Members' and the corresponding footnote as to its suspension by Resolutions of the Annual Meetings of 18 January 1915 and 19 January 1920, the resumption of any artificial limitation of the Membership of the Society being now out of keeping with the importance which its work has assumed.

It remains to be noted that by the kindness of the librarians of the Royal Library at Windsor and the College Library at Eton College a very successful summer meeting was held at Windsor and Eton on 18 June, fifty tickets being issued and forty-seven used by members and their guests. This was the second meeting of the kind held by the Society, the first, which centred at Magdalene College, Cambridge, having taken place in 1914. While it is difficult to arrange for such meetings very often, it is hoped that the Society may be incited to hold another without waiting until 1942.

BALANCE SHEET

From 1 January to 31 December 1928.

[illegible]

R. FAROUHARSON SHARP, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Examined with vouchers and found correct.

A. W. REED.

19 January 1929.

ASSETS.			LIABILITIES.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
£500 2½% Consols @ 55 .	275	0 0	Estimated Liability for 30 Life Members	350	0 0
£100 3½% New South Wales Bond, 1930-50 .	76	0 0	Subscriptions received in advance	24	3 0
Estimated value of Stock of Publications	1,200	0 0	Estimated cost of completing books for 1927-8	1,200	0 0
Balance of Account for 1928 .	1,995	17 10			

ANNUAL MEETING

THE thirty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Society was held at 20 Hanover Square on 18 March 1929 immediately upon the conclusion of the ordinary Monthly Meeting, the President, Mr. G. F. Barwick, in the Chair.

The minutes of the previous Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The President then moved the adoption of the Annual Report and Balance Sheet. These having been previously circulated to all members were taken as read and their adoption was carried unanimously.

The President then announced that the Council of the Society had decided to award the Society's Gold Medal to the following five bibliographers: Wilberforce Eames, Konrad Haebler, Montague Rhodes James, R. B. McKerrow, and A. W. Pollard.

Mr. Redgrave moved the re-election of Mr. G. F. Barwick as President for the ensuing session. This was seconded by Mr. Harold Williams and carried.

Mr. A. F. Johnson moved the re-election of the Hon. Secretaries, Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Auditors. The motion was seconded by Colonel Isaac and carried.

The election of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres as a Vice-President was then moved from the Chair and carried.

The election of the following as members of the Council for the ensuing session was then proposed by Dr. Greg: namely, Dr. P. S. Allen, Mr. R. A. Austen Leigh, Dr. R. W. Chapman, Dr. E. Marion Cox, Mr. F. S. Ferguson, Mr. Stephen Gaselee, Mr. J. P. Gilson, Dr. Geoffrey Keynes, Mr. J. P. R. Lyell, Mr. Frank Sidgwick, Dr. Henry Thomas, and Mr. Harold Williams. This was seconded by Mr. White and carried.

The following resolution was then moved from the Chair:

That the draft Deed of Trust, as circulated to members

of the Society with the notice of this meeting, be accepted and approved, and that the appointment of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, K.T., Dr. W. W. Greg, and Dr. R. B. McKerrow as Trustees be confirmed, and that the Deed be executed by the President and Hon. Treasurer of the Society.

This was supported by Mr. E. F. Bosanquet and carried.

Mr. Prideaux moved :

That the President, Mr. G. F. Barwick, and Treasurer, Mr. R. Farquharson Sharp, be authorized to act on behalf of the Society in transferring the investments at present held by the Society to the Trustees under the Deed.

This was seconded by Mr. S. Hodgson and carried.

Dr. Greg then moved that when the Society's Rules are next reprinted the following words shall be omitted from Rule 6 :

The Society shall consist of not more than 300* Members from the British Empire and the United States of America, but the Council shall have the power to elect (i) not more than 25 British or American Candidate-Members from whom vacancies may be filled up as they occur, and who in the meantime, on payment of the Entrance Fee and Subscription, shall possess all the privileges of Members, except those of voting at the meetings of the Society and holding office ; and (ii) any Foreign Libraries or Bibliographers whose membership will be advantageous to the Society.

together with the footnote

*By Resolution of the Annual Meeting held 18 January 1915 this limitation was suspended during the War, and by Resolution of the Annual Meeting held 19 January 1920, and acceptance of the Council's Report on 21 March 1921, was further suspended until otherwise determined.

The motion was seconded by Professor Dover Wilson and carried.

The proceedings of the Annual Meeting then terminated.

THE SOCIETY'S GOLD MEDAL

THE Medal has been made at the Royal Mint, from designs by Mr. Langford Jones. The obverse showing a scribe at work is based on a miniature in an autograph manuscript of Jean Mielot's *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame* written in 1456, reproduced in Sir G. F. Warner's edition for the Roxburghe Club (1885) and thence in Mr. Falconer Madan's *Books in Manuscript* (1893, 2nd ed. 1920), plate iv. The reverse shows a pressman preparing to take a pull while another pounds his inking balls, and on the further side of the press a compositor is at work. This was suggested in the first instance by the roundel on the title-page of *La Fauconnerie de Messire Arthelouche de Alagona* (part of *La Fauconnerie de F. Ian des Franchieres*), printed by Enguilbert de Marnef et les Bouchetz, frères, Poitiers, 1567 (reproduced in Dr. McKerrow's *An Introduction to Bibliography* (1927), p. 45), but the details are much altered. Round the rim of the medal are engraved the words 'Instituted MCMXXVIII' and 'Awarded to' followed by the names of the recipient and date of award in arabic figures.

The generosity of Mr. Bosanquet having placed the necessary funds at its disposal, the Council by making five awards at the outset was able to enhance the prestige of the medal by its acceptance by the doyen of American bibliographers, Mr. Wilberforce Eames, whose work on early printing in America and on the bibliography of books in the Indian languages and English Americana was recognized in 1924 when he entered his seventieth year by a 'Festschrift' of some thirty *Bibliographical Essays* written in his honour (reviewed in *The Library*, 4th series, vol. vii, pp. 103-11); by Professor Dr. Konrad Haebler, a veteran among German incunabulists; and by the Provost of Eton, Dr. Montague Rhodes James, who began publishing his catalogues of Western manuscripts in English libraries in 1895, with a batch of those at Eton, King's

College, Jesus College, Sidney Sussex College, and the Fitzwilliams Museum, Cambridge, which must have represented a good many years' work, and has not yet ceased from well-doing.

Future awards, unless the Council determine to supplement the income from Mr. Bosanquet's endowment, will be at the rate of four in five years, and the greater ease of selecting two recipients than one suggests that awards may be made every third and fifth year, though no decision as to this has yet been reached.

THE EARLY EDITIONS OF THOMAS DEKKER'S
*THE CONVERTED COURTEZAN OR THE
HONEST WHORE, PART I*

By MATTHEW BAIRD



FIVE extant editions of *The Honest Whore*, Part I, were printed before 1640. The first three editions were printed by V[alentine] S[immes] in 1604 and 1605, and the last two by N. Okes in 1615 and 1635.¹ Only two of these editions have textual importance, the edition of 1604 and an edition the only extant copy of which is in Bodley (Malone 219). This copy lacks a title-page, and has the running-title, *The converted Courtezán*.

The edition of 1605, which has hitherto been recognized as the second edition, is a composite reissue of sheets from the 1604 edition and the edition of which Malone 219 is a copy. The 1615 edition was printed from the 1604 edition, and the 1635 edition was printed from the 1615 edition.² This bibliographical note is therefore concerned with the 1604 edition and Malone 219.

There are three recorded copies of the 1604 edition: one in the British Museum, one in the Henry Huntington Library, and one until recently in the Library of Mr. J. L. Clawson, New York City.³

The / Honest Whore, / With, / The Humours of the Patient Man, / and the
Longing Wife. / [ornament] / Tho: Dekker. / [ornament] / London / Printed
by V. S. for Iohn Hodgets, and are to / be solde at his shop in Paules / church-
yard 1604. /

¹ The edition dated 1616 is a reissue of the 1615 edition.

² The British Museum copy and the Huntington copy are identical in all important respects. I have not seen the Clawson copy.

4^o: sigg. A-K4; 40 leaves, unpagued.
A1^r, Title; A1^v, [blank]; A2^r-K4^v, text.
Running-title, *The Honest Whore*.

There is only one recorded copy of Malone 219.

[Title-page missing]

4^o: sigg. A-I4, K2; 38 leaves, unpagued.
A1, missing; A2^r-K2^v, text; K3-K4, missing.
Running-title, *The converted Courtezan*.

Malone 219 will hereafter be referred to as β [odley] and the 1604 and 1605 editions by their dates.

β differs from 1604 in the following readings:¹

	1604 copy	Bodley copy
B1 ^v 27	'thats the gulling word betweene the Cittizens wives & their olde dames, that man em to the garden ;'	'thats the gulling word betweene the Cittizens wives and their mad-caps, that man em to the garden ;'
B2 ^v 18	'Laid hold on thee even in the deadst of feasting,'	'Laid hold on thee even in the midst of feasting ;'
B2 ^v 33	'2 Servants "Yes indeede Madam." Duke. "La you now, tis well God knowes."'	'2 Ser. "Yesindeede Madam," Duke. "La you now, tis well, good knaves."'
B3 24	'Which like some gods in the Coprian groves,'	'Which like some goddesse in the Ciprian groves,'
D1 30	'Lord Ello, the Gentleman-Vsher . . . had beene to borrow mony for his Lord,'	'Sordello, the Gentleman-Vsher . . . had beene to borrow mony for his Lord,'
D1 36	'what an asse is that Citizen to lend mony of a Lord.'	'what an asse is that Citizen to lend mony to a Lord.'
D2 8	'at my lodging of my cuz,'	'at the lodging of my cuz,'
H1 ^v 6	'like honest men, tho they be arrant knaues, for thats the praise of the citty ;'	'like honest men, tho they be arrant knaues, for thats the pbrase of the citty ;'
H3 ^v 20	'that funerall, Dukes teares, the morning, was all counterfet,'	'that funerall, Dukes teares, the mourning, was all counterfet,'
I3 12	'The ground that fraighted louers tread vpon,'	'The ground that frighted louers tread vpon,'

¹ Only the more important readings are given.

54 *The Early Editions of Thomas Dekker's*

With even the brief context given it will be seen that the readings of β are in every case superior to those of 1604. In the following readings the superiority of β readings may be questioned.

	1604 copy	Bodley copy
B2 23	' <i>Sofily sweete Doctor : what a coldish beate</i> <i>Spreads over all her bodie.'</i>	' <i>Sofily, see Doctor what a coldish beate</i> <i>Spreades over all her bodie.'</i>
D4 5	' <i>Mathæo ! thats true, but beleuee it, I</i> <i>No sooner had laid hold vpon your presence,</i> <i>But straight mine eye conueid you to my heart.'</i>	' <i>Mathæo ! thats true, but if youle beleuee</i> <i>My honest tongue, my eyes no sooner met you,</i> <i>But they conueid and lead you to my heart.'</i>
E2 2	' <i>What ! has he left his weapon heere behind him,</i> <i>And gone forgetfull ? O fit instrument</i> <i>To let forth all the poyson of my flesh !'</i>	' <i>his weapon left heere ? O fit instrument,</i> <i>To let forth all the poyson of my flesh !'</i>
E2 8	' <i>Eyther loue me,</i> <i>Or split my heart vpon thy Rapiers poynt :'</i>	' <i>Eyther loue me,</i> <i>Or cleaue my bosome on thy Rapiers poynt.'</i>
E2 13	' <i>Not speake to me ! not bid farewell ! a scorne !'</i>	' <i>Not speake to me ! not looke ! not bid farewell !'</i>

In one or two of the last five readings it may be argued that there is little to choose between those of β and those of 1604, but in the majority of cases the readings of β are superior.

Besides the readings already quoted there are as many more which show β to have the better reading. In no case is there a 1604 reading superior to β with this possible exception :

On B3, line 16, β has

'His lively presence, hnrts her, does it not ?'

1604 has *haunts* instead of *hurts*.

If 1604 has poorer readings than β , it has also a greater number of misprints. There are nineteen misprints of 1604

: 'hnrts' is a compositor's error for 'hurts'.

which appear in their correct form in β . Some misprints remain unchanged, while seven new ones are introduced in β .

Other variations are :

1. In B₂, line 33, of 1604 we have

'Doctor sit downe : A Dukedome that should wey mine
Owne downe twice, being put into one scale :'

The β reading of these two lines is

'Doctor sit downe : A Dukedome that should wey
Mine owne downe twice, being put into one scale,'

An insignificant change perhaps, but one which restores the correct alignment.

2-4. There are three passages of prose in 1604 which in β are printed as verse.

2. C₂, lines 30-33, in 1604 :

'*Flu.* A siluer and gilt beaker : I haue a tricke to worke vp- / on that beaker,
sure twil fret him, it cannot choose but vexe / him. Seig. Castruchio, in pittie
to thee, I haue a cōceit, wil saue / thy 100. Duckets yet, twil doot, & work him
to impatience. /'

These lines occur in β as

'*Flu.* A siluer and gilt beaker : I haue a tricke
To worke vpon that beaker, sure twil fret him,
It cannot choose but vexe him, Seig. Castruchio,
In pittie to thee, I haue a cōceit,
Wil saue thy 100. Duckets yet, twil doot,
And worke him to impatience.'

3. 12^v, lines 11-13, in 1604 :

'*Hip.* Then all our plots are turnd vpon our heads ; and we are blown vp with
our own vnderminings. Sfoot how comes he, what villaine durst betray our
being here.'

This passage is printed in β as

'*Hip.* Then all our plots,
Are turnd vpon our heads ; and we are blowne vp :
With our owne vnderminings. Sfoot how comes he,
What villaine durst betray our being here.'

4. 12^v, lines 23 and 24, in 1604:

'Ans. Sonne be not desperate haue patience, you shall trip your enemy downe,
by his owne slights, how far is the Duke hecce.'

This passage is printed in β as

'Ans. Sonne be not desperate,
Haue patience, you shall trip your enemy downe :
By his owne sleights, how far is the Duke hence.'

Though the verse in these three cases may not be commendable, it can be scanned and is undoubtedly meant to be verse, for the speakers of the above passages habitually speak in verse.

5-9. There are five instances of words or phrases occurring in β which are not found in 1604 :

- | | 1604 | Bodley |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| 5. C2 38 | 'I pledge you Seig. Candido,
heere you, that must receiue a
100. Duccats' | 'I pledge you Seig. Candido,
heere to you, that must receiue
a 100. Duccats' |
| 6. D2 ^v 36 | 'put your mistresse in mind to
sup with vs on friday next :' | 'put your misttris in minde,
your scurny mistris heere, to
sup with vs on friday next :' |
| 7. E1 ^v 20 | 'Hip. See Matheo comes not :' | 'Hip. I see Matheo comes not.' |
| 8. K2 32 | [
'You loue a Frier better then a
Nun,'
] | 'O see, see what a thred beres spun,
You loue a Frier better then a
Nun,' |
| 9. K2 ^v 33 | 1604 prints the last 13 lines on
the page as if they were all
spoken by Hipolito and omits
the speech direction 'Ans.' | prints 'Ansel :', but does so a
line too soon. |

10-11. There are two passages in 1604 in which β makes an omission :

- | | 1604 | Bodley |
|------------------------|--|---|
| 10. C1 ^v 26 | 'heare, pray know my shop,
pray let me haue your custome.' | 'heere, pray know my shop, let
me haue your custome.' |
| 11. E3 34 | 'Wife. When do you shew
those pieces ?
Fust. I, when do you shew those
pieces ?
Omn. Presently sir,' | 'Wife. When do you shew
those pieces ?
Omn. Presently sir,' |

In case 11 the omission in β is readily explained by homoioteleuton. The line was confused by the compositor of β with the line directly above it. The variants as a whole suggest that β is an edition corrected from an earlier edition, 1604. This is substantiated further by the following evidence.

The early history of the play shows that it had immediate success. Within two years of its completion three editions were printed.

From an entry in Henslowe's Diary for the year 1604¹ and the play's entry in the Stationers' Register on 9 Nov. of the same year² it is seen that the play was printed in the same year that it was written.

A closer examination of 1604 reveals that it was printed in two sections. Sheets A and B were set up independently from the rest. The catchword of B4^v, 'George', is cut to 'Geor' in line 1 of C1^r, the type fount (and the measurements of the type pages) used in A and B are different from those used in C-K. It is improbable, however, that the two sections were printed at different printing-houses because the same paper was used in both sections.³

β was printed in four sections. Sheets A and B have the running-title 'The Converted Curtezan'; sheets C and D have 'THE CONVERTED' on the verso and 'CVRTIZAN' on

¹ Folio 110, W. W. Greg's edition.

Lent vnto the company to geue vnto	} v ^{ll}
Thomas deckers & midelton in earneste	
of ther playe Called the pasyent man &	
the onest hore the some of	

² 9 novembris

Thomas Man	Entred for his cotype vnder the hand of master Pasfeild
the yonger	A Booke called The humors of the patient man. The
	longinge wyfe and the honest whore vj ^d

³ The watermarks show that all sheets of 1604 excepting sheet F were from the same lot of paper (the same paper on which Simmes had printed *Much Adoe About Nothing* in 1600). The paper of β and sheet F of 1604 have the same watermark.

the recto of the leaves; sheets E and F have '*The conuerted Courtizan*'; and G-K have the same running-title as sheets C and D.¹ This is further evidence that 1604 is the prior edition, or more strictly speaking, that β is not the first edition. It would have been a most difficult feat to print β in four sections without noticeably cramping or expanding the lines of those pages forming the jointure of the sheets had β been printed from the manuscript. There is no evidence either of cramping or expansion. It can be said therefore with little hesitation that β was printed from a printed text—probably 1604.

1605 helps us to place the date of β very close to that of 1604. 1605 is a composite edition made up of sheets A, C, D, and F, G, I, and K of 1604 and sheets B, E, and H of Bodley. The only recorded copy of this edition is in the Dyce Library at Kensington. It has a similar title-page to 1604 except that in the imprint the wording is slightly varied and the date is 1605. In sheets B and H of 1605 the running-titles were changed to '*The Honest Whore*' in order to conform with the other sheets, but the running-titles of sheet E were left unchanged and appeared in 1605 as '*The conuerted Courtizan*'. There is also evidence that β was printed before the type of 1604 had been distributed. Both editions seem to have been printed from the same formes of sheet A. In the same way the outer formes of sheets F and I were used to print β as well as 1604. Even in some pages where a change of reading occurs, 'pick-ups' seem to have been used, for apart from the passage in which the variant occurs, the rest of the page appears to be identical with the corresponding page of the other edition, i.e. $F1^v$ and $K1$.

One or two questions of a problematical nature remain to be

¹ Only on $B4^v$ and $C1^r$ is there any variation between the catchword on the last page of a sheet and the first word of the next (the same variation noted in 1604).

discussed, though strictly speaking they may be misplaced in so short a bibliographical statement as this. Who revised the 1604 sheets which were used in the printing of β ? And for what reason did the running-title change from 'The Honest Whore' to 'The Converted Courtizan'?

Because of the entry in Henslowe's Diary (see note 1 to p. 57) and it alone, the name of Thomas Middleton has been connected with the play of *The Honest Whore*. Many editors and critics have failed to detect his hand in it, while others are agreed that his share is small. And if he had little to do with the writing of the play, the absence of his name from the title-pages show that he probably had little to do with seeing it through the press. (His name occurs on none of the title-pages.) If then it was one of the authors who revised the 1604 edition, and the variants seem to suggest an author's revision, the man was very likely Thomas Dekker.

The question of title change is a much more difficult one and may never be decided. In most cases the titles of plays in the Stationers' Register were copied from the titles of the manuscripts. In the entry of our play the title is 'The humors of the patient man. The longing wyfe and the honest whore'. Henslowe also enters it as 'ther playe Called the pasyent man & the onest hore'. From these entries it is likely that the manuscript bore the title, 'The Humors of the Patient Man, the Longing Wife, and the Honest Whore.'

If further progress is to be made towards a solution, fact must make way for fancy. Let it be supposed, then, that Dekker arrived at the printing-house to correct the proofs of his play. He may have been ill or Simmes may have gone through with the work sooner than was expected. At all events, on the author's arrival enough sheets had been printed to publish an edition entitled *The Honest Whore*, and because of the expense, the printer refused to waste the sheets already printed. In consequence the 1604 edition was put on the

market. Simmes, however, allowed Dekker a free hand in making changes and corrections for the next edition. As has been shown, some of the 1604 formes were kept unchanged while others were altered. 'Pick-ups' were used and type pages were transferred unchanged. At this point Dekker called attention to the undue prominence which had been given to his sub-title in raising it to the importance of main title. Simmes, the business man, with his arguments of 'the power of advertising' could make little headway with Dekker, the poet, so that a compromise was necessary. The bald *The Honest Whore* gave place to the less blatant *The Converted Courtizan*. The running-titles were changed where necessary and the second edition published under the play's original name. But no sooner had Poetry turned the corner than Business re-entered. The old title was restored and a new edition, 1605, published almost immediately. And although from 1605 till the present day the play has been known as *The Honest Whore*, would it not perhaps be more accurate to give it the title with which its author or authors sponsored it?

The importance of β as an author's revised text has hitherto been unrecognized.¹ The 1605 edition, thought to have been the second, has been the basis for all modern editions, but in its composite form it contains only those corrections of β which are found in sheets B, E, and H. There is therefore room for an edition of this excellent play which will embody the author's text.

¹ The only recorded copy of β belonged to Edmund Malone. The following note occurs in his hand on the fly-leaf:

'This is the first edition of Decker's *Honest Whore*, Part I with a different title. This copy does not appear to have been seen by any of the Writers on the Drama.
E. M.'

THE *CHRISTIAN HERO* BY RICHARD STEELE : A BIBLIOGRAPHY

By RAE BLANCHARD



THE *Christian Hero*, the essay with which Richard Steele began his literary career in 1701, has suffered unwarranted neglect by modern scholars. Containing the first expression of Steele's moralistic and social ideas, later to be developed in his plays and periodicals, it must obviously be the starting-point for any study of his thought. Indeed, as a notable early expression of ideas to become prominent during the eighteenth century, it is of considerable historical importance. Yet it is, in a measure, forgotten. An adequate bibliography has been lacking. The lists of editions given by Watt, Darling, Lowndes, and Allibone are incomplete and in some cases inaccurate. The hand-lists made forty-five years ago by Edward Solly¹ and by George A. Aitken² have many gaps; and even Aitken's final list compiled for his *Life of Richard Steele*³ is deficient. The present bibliography aims at completeness. It includes a description of every discoverable edition, with such particulars as will enable them to be identified and with a census of the libraries in Great Britain and the United States where copies may be found.⁴

Twenty-two editions of the *Christian Hero* are evidence of its vogue from 1701 to 1820. In every decade but one of the eighteenth century there were one or more editions, and there

¹ Steele's 'Christian Hero', *The Antiquary*, xii (1885), 233.

² *Ibid.*, xiii (1886), 38.

³ London, 1889. See Appendix V (ii. 390).

⁴ Queries were sent to forty leading libraries in the United States and to the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Cambridge University Library.

were four in the first quarter of the nineteenth. In Steele's lifetime nine editions and a French translation were published, four editions appearing between 1710 and 1712 during the run of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*; and nine more came out between 1729, the year of his death, and 1800. Of these twenty-two editions, fourteen were published in London—eleven by Tonson; one each in Oxford, Berwick, Whitehaven, and Bungay; two in Dublin; and two in the United States.

1701 (April)

The / Christian / Hero : / An / Argument / Proving That / No Principles but those of / Religion are sufficient to make a / Great Man. / [rule] / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem / Offendet sicut* [sic] — Ho. / [rule] / London, / Printed for Jacob Tonson, within Gray's-Inn- / Gate, next Gray's- / Inn- / Lane. 1701.

The title-page is enclosed within a double-rule frame.

Octavo.

Signatures: A-G in eights.

Pagination: Pp. [i, ii], List of books printed for Jacob Tonson; p. [iii], title; p. [iv], blank; pp. [v-x], Dedication to Lord Cutts; pp. [xi-xvi], Preface; pp. 1-95, text; p. [96], blank. 'Finis' on p. 95. A double-rule heading for the Dedication, the Preface, and [Chap. I].¹

Advertised in the *Post Boy*, 15-17 April 1701.

Copies at University of Texas Library, Aitken Collection* and Wrenn Collection; Harvard College Library; Henry E. Huntington Library; British Museum; Bodleian Library; Cambridge University Library.

1701 (July)

The / Christian / Hero : / An / Argument / Proving That / No Principles but those of / Religion / Are sufficient to make a Great Man. / [rule] / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem / Offendet solido* — Ho. / [rule] / Second Edition, with Additions. / [rule] / London, / Printed for Jacob Tonson, within Gray's-Inn- / Gate, next Gray's-Inn-Lane, 1701.

The title-page is enclosed within a double-rule frame.

Octavo.

Signatures: A five leaves. B-G in eights. H three leaves.

Pagination: P. [i], Title; p. [ii], blank; pp. [iii-vi], Dedication to Lord

¹ The copy starred is the one described.

Cutts; pp. [vii-x], Preface; pp. 1-102, text. 'Finis' on p. 102. A double-rule heading for the Dedication, the Preface, and [Chap. I.]. Chap. IV is misprinted Chap. VI (p. 78).

Advertised in the *Post Boy*, 17-19 July 1701.

Copies at University of Texas Library, Aitken Collection* and Wrenn Collection; Yale University Library; British Museum; Victoria and Albert Museum, Dyce Collection, autographed copy.

1710 (November)

The / Christian Hero : / An / Argument / Proving that no / Principles / But Those Of / Religion / Are Sufficient to make a / Great Man. / [rule] / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem / Offendet solido* — Ho. / [rule] / The Third Edition. / [rule] / London : / Printed for Jacob Tonson, within Gray's-Inn Gate, / next Gray's-Inn-Lane. 1710.

Octavo.

Signatures : A-F in eights, G four leaves.

Pagination : P. [i], Title; p. [ii], blank; pp. [iii-vi], Dedication to Lord Cutts; pp. [vii-x], Preface; pp. [1] and 2-93, text; p. [94], blank. 'Finis' on p. 93. A double-rule heading for the Dedication, the Preface, and [Chap. I.].

Advertised in the *London Gazette*, 7-9 November 1710.

Copies at University of Texas Library, Aitken Collection*; University of Chicago Library; Cambridge University Library.

1711 (April)

The / Christian Hero : / An / Argument / Proving that no / Principles / But those of / Religion / Are sufficient to make a Great Man. / [rule] / Written by Mr. Steele. / [rule] / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem / Offendet solido* — Ho. / [rule] / The Fourth Edition. / [rule] / London : / Printed for J. T. and Sold by O. Lloyd, / near the Church in the Temple. 1711.

Duodecimo.

Signatures : One unsigned leaf, A-C in twelves, D six leaves.

Pagination : P. [i], blank; p. [ii], advertisement consisting of a list of books sold by O. Lloyd; p. [iii], Title; p. [iv], blank; pp. [v-x], Dedication to Lord Cutts; pp. [xi-xvi], Preface; pp. [1] and 2-70, text. 'Finis' on p. 70. Head ornaments and ornamental initials at the beginning of the Dedication, the Preface, and each chapter. Tail ornaments following the Dedication and Chap. II.

The copy described (in Columbia University Library) is bound in modern binding with the fourth volume of the *Tatler*: *The Lucubrations of Isaac Bicker-*

staff Esq. Revised and Corrected by the Author, vol. iv., London, Printed and Sold by Charles Lillie . . . and John Morphew. MDCCXI.

The advertisement for this edition in the *Daily Courant*, 19 April 1711, states that it is printed in 'a neat Pocket Volume so as to be bound up with the 4th Volume of the Tatlers'.

Copies at Columbia University Library ; * Library Company of Philadelphia (bound singly in modern binding) ; British Museum.

1711 (December)

The / Christian Hero : / An / Argument / Proving that no / Principles / But those of / *Religion* / Are Sufficient to make a / Great Man. / [rule] / Written by Mr. Steele. / [rule] / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem / Offendet solido* — Ho. / [rule] / The Fifth Edition. / [rule] / London : / Printed for J. T. And sold by Owen / Lloyd near the Church in the Temple. / MDCCXI. /

Duodecimo.

Signatures : A-C in twelves (A1 missing), D six leaves.

Pagination : P. [i], Title ; p. [ii], blank ; pp. [iii-viii], Dedication to Lord Cutts ; pp. [ix-xiv], Preface ; pp. [1] and 2-68, text. 'Finis' on p. 68. Head ornaments and ornamental initials at the beginning of the Dedication, the Preface, and each chapter. Tail ornament following the Preface.

Advertised in the *Post Boy*, 6-8 December 1711.

Copies at University of Texas Library, Aitken Collection ; * Harvard College Library ; Yale University Library ; British Museum.

1712 (November)

The / Christian Hero : / An / Argument / Proving that no / Principles / But those of / *Religion* / Are Sufficient to make a / Great Man. / [rule] / Written by Mr. Steele. / [rule] / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem / Offendet solido* — Ho. / [rule] / The Sixth Edition. / [rule] / London : / Printed for Jacob Tonson at *Shakespeare's / Head over-against Catherine Street in / the Strand*. 1712. /

Duodecimo.

Signatures : A six leaves, B-D in twelves.

Pagination : P. [i], blank ; p. [ii], advertisement consisting of a list of books printed for Jacob Tonson ; p. [iii], Title ; p. [iv], blank ; pp. [v-x], Dedication to Lord Cutts ; pp. [xi-xvi], Preface ; pp. [1] and 2-68, text. 'Finis' on p. 68. Head ornaments and ornamental initials at the beginning of the Dedication, the Preface, and each chapter. Tail ornament following the Preface. (Ornaments slightly different in design from those of the fifth edition.)

Advertised in the *Spectator*, 29 November 1712.

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Copies at University of Texas Library, Aitken Collection ; * British Museum ; Cambridge University Library.

1722

The / Christian Hero : / An / Argument / Proving that no / Principles / But those of / Religion / Are sufficient to make a / Great Man. / [rule] / By Sir Richard Steele. / [rule] / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem / Offendet solido* — Hor. / [rule] / The Seventh Edition. / [rule] / London : / Printed for Jacob Tonson at *Shake / spear's Head* over-against *Catherine Street* / in the *Strand*. / MDCCXXII. /

Duodecimo.

Signatures : A-C in twelves, D six leaves.

Pagination : P. [i], Title ; p. [ii], blank ; pp. [iii-ix], Dedication to Lord Cutts ; p. [x], blank ; pp. [xi-xvi], Preface ; pp. [1] and 2-68, text. 'Finis' on p. 68. Head ornaments and ornamental initials at the beginning of the Dedication, the Preface, and each chapter. Tail ornament following the Preface. (All ornaments more elaborate than those in the fifth and sixth editions.)

Copies at University of Texas Library, Aitken Collection ; * Harvard College Library ; British Museum ; Bodleian Library.

1725

The / Christian Hero : / An Argument proving that no / Principles / But those of / Religion / Are Sufficient / To make a Great Man. / [rule] / By Sir Richard Steele. / [rule] / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem / Offendet solido* — Hor. / [rule] / [ornament] / [rule] / Dublin : / Printed by S. Powell, for George Risk at the *Cor- / ner of Castle-lane* in *Dame's-street*, near the *Horse-guard*, / MDCCXXV. /

The title-page is printed in black and red.

Octavo.

Signatures : A-D in eights, [E] one leaf.

Pagination : P. [i], Title ; p. [ii], blank ; pp. [iii-vi], Dedication to Lord Cutts ; pp. [vii-x], Preface ; pp. [1] and 2-55, text ; p. [56], blank. 'Finis' on p. 55. Ornamental initials at the beginning of the Dedication, the Preface, and [Chap. I.]. Head ornaments for the Dedication, the Preface, and each chapter. Tail ornaments following the Preface and 'Finis'.

In the copy described (in Columbia University Library), the *Christian Hero* is the first item in a volume (modern binding) containing the following :

(2) Combe, Edward, *The Art of Being Easy at All Times and in All Places*, Dublin, 1725.

(3) —, *A Faithful and Exact Narrative of the Horrid Tragedy Lately Acted at the Thorn in Polish Prussia . . .* Dublin, 1725.

(4) Haywood, Mrs. Eliza, *The Tea-Table or A Conversation between Some Polite Persons of Both Sexes at a Lady's Visiting Day*. 4th ed., London: printed and Dublin reprinted, 1725.

(5) [Steele, Richard], *The Parliamentary Right of the Crown of England Asserted in the Debate at Large Between the Lords and Commons . . .* 3rd ed., London, 1714.

(6) [Vanbrugh, John], *The Country House . . .* Dublin, 1719.

Copies at Columbia University Library; * Cambridge University Library.

1727

The / Christian Hero : / An / Argument / Proving that no / Principles / But Those Of / Religion / Are Sufficient to make a / Great Man. / [rule] / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem / Offendet solido* — Hor. / [rule] / The Eighth Edition. / [rule] / London : / Printed for J. Tonson in the Strand [short rule] / MDCCXXVII.

Duodecimo.

Signatures : A eight leaves, B-D in twelves, E three leaves.

Pagination : P. [i] Title ; p. [ii] blank ; pp. [iii-viii], Dedication to Lord Cutts ; pp. [ix-xv], Preface ; p. [xvi], blank ; pp. [1] and 2-78, text. 'Finis' on p. 78. Ornamental initials at the beginning of the Dedication, the Preface, and [Chap. I.]. Head ornaments for the Dedication, the Preface, and each chapter. Tail ornaments following the Preface and 'Finis'.

Copies at University of Texas Library, Aitken Collection ; * Library of Congress ; Columbia University Library ; New York Public Library ; Cornell University Library ; British Museum.

1729

Le / Heros / Chrétien / Par le Chevalier R. Steele. / Traduit de l'Anglois / Par M. A. De Beaumarchais, / Et Les / Vertus Paiennes / Par le Traducteur. / [ornament] / A La Haye, / Chez Henry Scheurleer. / [short rule] / M. DCC. XXIX. /

The title-page is printed in black and red.

Duodecimo.

Signatures : Four unsigned leaves, A-I in twelves, K eight leaves, L twelve leaves, M four leaves.

Pagination : P. [i], Title ; p. [ii], blank ; pp. [iii-vii], Dedication to Monsieur Le Comte D'Aumale, signed H. Scheurleer ; pp. 1-6, Dedication to Lord Cutts ; pp. 7-16, Preface ; pp. 17-173, text of *Le Héros Chrétien* ; pp. 175-231, text of *Les Vertus Paiennes* ; p. 232, blank ; pp. [233-264], Table des Matières.

Library of Congress.*

1737

The / Christian Hero : / An Argument proving that no Principles / But those of / Religion / Are Sufficient / To make a Great Man. / [rule] / By Sir Richard Steele. / [rule] / — Fragili quærens illidere dentem / Offendet solido — Hor. / [rule] / [ornament] / [rule] / Dublin : / Printed by S. Powell, / For George Risk, at *Shakespeare's-head* in / *Dame's-Street*. / [rule] / MDCCXXXVII.

The title-page is printed in black and red.

Octavo.

Signatures : A-D in eights.

Pagination : P. [1], Title ; p. [2], blank ; pp. [3, 4], Dedication to Lord Cutts ; pp. [5-8], Preface ; pp. [9] and 10-64, text. 'Finis' on p. 64. Ornamental initials at the beginning of the Preface and [Chap. I.]. Head ornaments for the Preface and each chapter. Tail ornament following the Preface.

Copies at Henry E. Huntington Library ; * University of Texas Library, Aitken Collection (title-page missing) ; Bodleian Library ; Cambridge University Library.

1741

The / Christian Hero : / An / Argument / Proving that no / Principles / But Those Of / Religion / Are Sufficient to make a / Great Man. / [rule] / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem / Offendet solido* — Hor. / [rule] / The Ninth Edition. / [rule] / London : / Printed for J. and R. Tonson in the *Strand*. / [short-rule] / MDCCXLI. /

Duodecimo.

Signatures : A eight leaves, B-D in twelves, E four leaves.

Pagination : P. [i], Title ; p. [ii], blank ; pp. [iii-viii], Dedication to Lord Cutts ; pp. [ix-xv], Preface ; p. [xvi], blank ; pp. [1] and 2-78, text ; pp. [79-80], blank. 'Finis' on p. 78. Ornamental initials at the beginning of the Dedication, the Preface, and [Chap. I.]. Head ornaments for the Dedication, the Preface, and each chapter. Tail ornaments following the Preface and 'Finis'. (Ornaments different in design from those of the eighth edition.)

Copies at University of Texas Library, Aitken Collection ; * British Museum.

1751 (?)

Allibone, in his *Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors*, lists a 1751 edition (8°). George A. Aitken, in his *Life of Richard Steele* (London, 1889), Appendix V, records the 1751 edition as the tenth. Persistent searching,

however, has not brought to light a copy of it, and it seems not to have been advertised in the contemporary periodicals. Allibone's statement may be inaccurate in this case as it is in his listing of the 1766 edition as the eighth; and Aitken may have assumed erroneously on the evidence of Allibone's statement that this hypothetical edition was the tenth, following the ninth in 1741.

1755

The / Christian Hero : / An / Argument / Proving that no / Principles / But Those Of Religion / Are Sufficient to make a / Great Man. / [rule] / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem / Offendet solido* — Hor. / [rule] / By Sir Richard Steele / [rule] / London : / Printed for J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper / in the Strand. / [short rule] / MDCCLV. /

Duodecimo.

Signatures : A eight leaves, B-D in twelves, E four leaves.

Pagination : P. [i], Title ; p. [ii], blank ; pp. [iii-viii], Dedication to Lord Cutts ; pp. [ix-xv], Preface ; p. [xvi], blank ; pp. [1] and 2-78, text ; pp. [79-80], blank. 'Finis' on p. 78. Ornamental initials at the beginning of the Dedication, the Preface, and [Chap. I.]. Head ornaments for the Dedication, the Preface, and each chapter. Tail ornaments following the Preface and 'Finis'. (Ornaments slightly different in design from those of the eighth and ninth editions.)

Copies at University of Texas Library, Aitken Collection ; * Henry E. Huntington Library ; Boston Public Library ; University of Wisconsin Library ; British Museum.

1756

The / Christian Hero : / An / Argument / Proving that no / Principles / But Those Of Religion / Are Sufficient to make a / Great Man. / [rule] / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem / Offendet Solido* — Hor. / [rule] / The Twelfth Edition. / [double rule] / Whitehaven : / Printed and Sold by W. Masheder, 1756. /

Octavo in half-sheets.

Signatures : Four unsigned leaves, B-M in fours, N two leaves.

Pagination : P. [i], Title ; p. [ii], blank ; pp. [iii-viii], Dedication to Lord Cutts ; pp. [ix-xiv], Preface ; pp. [1] and 2-85, text ; p. [86], blank. 'Finis' on p. 85. Head ornaments for the Dedication and Chap. I.

Bodleian Library.*

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1764

The / Christian Hero : / An / Argument / Proving that no / Principles / But those of / *Religion* / Are Sufficient to make / A Great Man. / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem* / *Offendet solido* — Hor. / London, / Printed for T. Wentworth in the Strand. 1764. /

Octavo.

Signatures : [A] eight leaves, B-F in eights. The pages are trimmed so closely that the signature A is lost.

Pagination : P. [i], Title ; p. [ii], blank ; pp. [iii-viii], Dedication to Lord Cutts ; p. [ix], blank ; pp. [x-xvi], Preface ; p. [xvii], blank ; pp. [1] and 2-78, text. 'Finis' on p. 78. No ornaments ; no catchwords ; very closely trimmed.

The University of Texas Library, Aitken Collection.*

1766

The / Christian Hero : / An / Argument / Proving that No / Principles / But Those Of / *Religion* / Are Sufficient to make a / Great Man. / By Sir Richard Steele. / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem* / *Offendet solido* — Hor. / [double rule] / London : / Printed for J. and R. Tonson in the Strand. / [short rule] / MDCCLXVI. /

Duodecimo.

Signatures : A eight leaves, B-D in twelves, E four leaves.

Pagination : P. [i], Title ; p. [ii], blank ; pp. [iii-viii], Dedication to Lord Cutts ; pp. [ix-xv], Preface ; p. [xvi], blank ; pp. [1] and 2-78, text ; pp. [79-80], blank. 'Finis' on p. 78. Head ornaments for the Dedication, the Preface, and each chapter, different in design from those of the 1728, 1741, and 1755 editions.

Copies at University of Texas Library, Aitken Collection ; * University of Chicago Library ; Library of Union Theological Seminary, New York.

1766

The / Christian Hero : / An / Argument / Proving that no / Principles / But Those Of / *Religion* / Are Sufficient To Make A / Great Man. / [rule] / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem* / *Offendet solido* — Hor. / [rule] / By Sir Richard Steele. / [rule] / London : / Printed for C. Scott in Fleet-street ; and / J. Brown in Cornhill. MDCCLXVI. /

Duodecimo in half-sheets.

Signatures : A six leaves, a six leaves, B-M in sixes.

Pagination : P. [i], blank ; p. [ii], symbolical frontispiece with the caption : The Christian's Pattern or the Imitation of Christ ; p. [iii], Title ; p. [iv], blank ; pp. [v-xiv], Dedication to Lord Cutts ; pp. [xv-xxiv], Preface ; pp. [1]

and 2-131, text; p. [132], blank. 'Finis' on p. 131. Double-rule heading for Dedication, the Preface, and [Chap. I.]. Head Ornament for Chaps. II and III.

University of Texas Library, Aitken Collection.*

1776

The / Christian Hero / An Argument proving that no / Principles / But those of / Religion / Are sufficient / To Make A Great Man. / By Sir Richard Steele. / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem / Offendet solido* — Hor. / London : / London : / Printed For T. Pridden, Fleet Street / M. DCC. LXXVI. /

Duodecimo.

Signatures : A-I in twelves.

Pagination : P. [i], Half-title; The Christian Hero; p. [ii], blank; p. [iii], Title; p. [iv], blank; pp. [v, vi], Dedication; pp. [vii-xii], Preface; pp. 13 and 14-108, text. 'The End' on p. 108.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Forster Collection.*

1792

The / Christian Hero : / An / Argument / Proving That No / Principles / But Those Of / Religion / Are Sufficient To Make A / Great Man. / Written by Mr. Steele. / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem / Offendet solido* — Ho. / A New Edition. / Berwick : / Printed By W. Phorson Bridge-Street. / MDCCXCII. /

Octavo in half-sheets.

Signatures : A-K in fours, L two leaves.

Pagination : P. [i], Title; p. [ii], blank; pp. [iii-v], Dedication to Lord Cutts; p. [vi], blank; pp. [vii-xi], Preface; p. [xii], blank; pp. [1] and 2-71, text; p. [72], blank. 'Finis' on p. 71. No ornaments.

Copies at University of Texas Library, Aitken Collection; * Library of Union Theological Seminary, New York; British Museum.

1802

The/ Christian Hero : / An Argument / Proving That / No Principles But Those Of Religion / Are sufficient to make / A Great Man. / [double rule] / By Sir Richard Steele. / [double rule] / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem, / Offendet solido.* Hor. / [rule] / A New Edition. / [rule] / Oxford : / At The Clarendon Press. / 1802. /

Octavo.

Signatures : a four leaves, b two leaves, c one leaf. B-K in eights, [L] one leaf.

Pagination : P. [i], Title; p. [ii], blank; pp. [iii] and iv-xiii, Preface; pp.

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[1] and 2-145, text; p. [146], blank. 'Finis' on p. 145. Short double-rule heading for the Preface and Chap. I.

Copies at University of Texas Library, Aitken Collection; * British Museum¹; Bodleian Library; Cambridge University Library.

1802

The / *Christian Hero* : / Or, No / Principles But Those Of / Religion, / Sufficient To Make A / Great Man. / *Written in the Year 1701.* / [short rule] / By Richard Steele. / [short rule] / "*The world passeth away, and the lust thereof; but he that doeth the will of God abideth forever*". / [double rule] / [ornament] / [double rule] / Worcester, Massachusetts, / *From The Press Of* / Isaiah Thomas, Jun. / July — 1802. /

Duodecimo in half-sheets.

Signatures: A-G in sixes. Only the first and third leaves in each gathering are signed: for example, the first leaf in the second gathering is signed B, the second leaf is unsigned, and the third is signed B 2 [sic].

Pagination: P. [i], Title; p. [ii], blank; pp. [iii] and iv-vi, Preface; pp. [7] and 8-84, text; 'Finis' on p. 84. Head ornaments for the Preface and each chapter. Caption for [Chap. I.]: *The Christian Hero* (instead of the full title). No catchwords. Pp. 81-4 are set in smaller type.

Copies at Harvard College Library; * Boston Public Library; Princeton Theological Seminary.

1807

The / *Christian Hero* : / an argument, proving that no / principles / but those of / religion / are sufficient / to make a great man. / [short double rule] / By Sir Richard Steele. / [short double rule] / — *Fragili quærens illidere dentem / Offendet solido* —. Hor. / [long double rule] / Printed by Smith & Maxwell, / No. 28, North Second Street, / Philadelphia. / 1807. /

Duodecimo in half-sheets.

Signatures: A-I in sixes, K five leaves. Only the first and third leaves in each gathering are signed: for example, the first leaf in the second gathering is signed B, the second is unsigned, and the third is signed B 2 [sic].

Pagination: P. [i], Title; p. [ii], blank; pp. [iii] and iv-vi, Dedication to Lord Cutts; pp. [vii] and viii-xii, Preface; pp. [13] and 14-117, text; p. [118], 'References to Scripture'. 'The End' on p. 117. Caption for [Chap. I.]: *The Christian Hero*. No catchwords.

Copies at Harvard College Library; * New York Public Library; Library Company of Philadelphia.

¹ Examined by A. W. P., the Texas copy lacking last leaf of Preface.

1820

The / Christian Hero : / An / Argument / Proving That No / Principles But Those Of Religion / Are Sufficient To Make / A Great Man. / [short rule] / By / Sir Richard Steele. / [short rule] / Embellished with The Author's Portrait. / [short rule] / Bungay : / Published By Charles Brightly. / 1820. / Imprint (p. [ii] and p. 108) : J. and R. Childs, Printers, Bungay.

Duodecimo.

Signatures : B twelve leaves, C six, D twelve, E six, F twelve, G six.

Pagination : Frontispiece, verso, Portrait of Steele (Kneller) ; P. [i], Title ; p. [ii], imprint ; pp. [iii] and iv-vi, Preface ; pp. [7] and 8-108, text ; 'Finis' on p. 108, followed by colophon. Caption for [Chap. I.] : The Christian Hero (instead of the full title). Short rule heading for the Preface and for each chapter.

The copy examined is bound in boards with the title printed on the outside as follows :

The / *Christian Hero* / [ornament] / By Sir Richard Steele. / [ornament] / Embellished with the Author's Portrait. / [rule] / Published by C. Brightly, Bungay. /

This is enclosed in an ornamental frame. Outside the frame at the bottom of the page is the imprint : J. and R. Childs, Printers, Bungay.

University of Texas Library, Aitken Collection.*

JAMES JOHNSTON, FIRST PRINTER IN THE ROYAL COLONY OF GEORGIA

By DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE



HEREAS sundry wholesome and necessary laws have been from time to time enacted by the General Assembly of this province, and for want of proper means and easy methods to make them known to such as they immediately concern, few of them have hitherto been duly put in execution, and thereby frustrated the true end and real intention for which they were framed and enacted; and because it is found by experience, that the quickest and least burthensome method in publishing the laws of this province, is by printing them, We therefore humbly pray your most sacred majesty, that it may be enacted, And be it Enacted, by his Excellency James Wright, Esquire, Captain-General and Governor in chief in and over the province of Georgia, by and with the advice and consent of the Honourable Council and Commons House of Assembly of the said province, in general assembly met, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this act, or as soon as conveniently may be, all laws in this province, then in force, or that shall hereafter be in force, shall be made publick by printing and distributing them as hereinafter directed.'

With these words, on 4 March 1762, the General Assembly of the Royal Province of Georgia gave official status to the printing-press as a necessary organ of government. Organized in 1732 as a proprietary colony under James Oglethorpe, Georgia had become a royal province twenty years later, the last of the thirteen British colonies which were afterwards to form the nucleus of the United States of America.

But an order that the laws of the province be printed was

not sufficient. There was as yet no press in the colony. The Act of 4 March 1762 therefore goes on to appoint James Johnston, 'lately arrived in this province from Great Britain, recommended as a person regularly bred to and well skilled in 'the art and mystery of printing,' as public printer, at a yearly salary of one hundred pounds sterling. This appointment was to run for a term of four years, 'commencing from the time 'he shall be in readiness to comply with the duties required of 'him by virtue of this act,' and two years were allowed him for the necessary preparations.

Under the terms of his appointment, Johnston and his heirs and assigns were obligated to 'print, or cause to be printed, 'all the laws of this province, with marginal references to every 'clause of the said laws, which shall then be in force, or shall 'hereafter be enacted and become in force during the aforesaid 'term of four years, upon proper paper and with types fit for 'such purpose'. Also, to 'print a sufficient number of copies of 'the said laws to be distributed agreeable to the following directions, that is to say, a copy for the use of the Governor or 'commander in chief for the time being, the same for the use 'of the upper house of assembly, and a set to each member 'thereof, a set for the use of the commons house of assembly, 'and a set to each member of the said commons house, a set to 'the secretary of this province, a set to his Majesty's treasurer, 'a set to the chief justice and each of the assistant justices, 'a set for the use of the courts of common pleas and oyer and 'terminer, a set to the attorney general, a set to every justice 'of the peace of this province, that shall qualify and act as such, 'and to every field officer and captain of the militia, such laws 'the execution of which they are any ways concerned in'.

Finally, the public printer was to 'print all proclamations, 'both singly and in the publick news papers of this province, 'and all other publick business that shall be thought necessary 'to be published by order of the Governor or commander in

‘chief for the time being, or by order of either of the houses of the general assembly’.

As additional encouragement to Johnston ‘to undertake and prosecute so laudable and beneficial a design of setting up a ‘printing press as aforesaid’, he and his heirs and assigns were invested by the Act with the sole right of selling the printed laws, ‘for his sole use and profit, after his having delivered the several copies of such laws as are herein before directed.’

The administration of this comprehensive act for establishing a press was entrusted to a board of nine commissioners, named by the Act, who were ‘authorized and impowered to revise, correct, and cause to be printed and published all and every such laws as they in their judgment shall think necessary and fit to be published and distributed as herein before directed’. They were also required, if the printer complied with the directions of the Act, to issue to him a certificate to that effect, without which certificate, according to the concluding clause of the Act, he would be unable to collect his salary.

Johnston did not begin to draw his salary as Georgia’s public printer until April 1763. The intervening thirteen months after the passage of the Act which appointed him may have been spent in procuring his materials and setting up his printing plant. Whether or not he went to England for his equipment is not known. But the fact that two years were allowed him by the Printing Act for procuring materials indicates that at the time of Johnston’s appointment there was no printing equipment in the colony.

Not much has come to light in regard to the details of Johnston’s life. He was born in the year 1738, probably in Scotland, the fourth child of James Johnston, surgeon, and Jean Nisbet. He was thus twenty-five years of age when he became Georgia’s public printer. No record has been found of the date of his coming to America other than the statement in the Printing Act that at the time of its enactment he was

'lately arrived' from Great Britain. Nor is it known where and with whom he served his apprenticeship and learned his trade. But the first issues of his press in Georgia show him to have been an accomplished craftsman.

Other members of the Johnston family also came to America, whether with the young printer or later. His father and mother died at Savannah and were buried in the Colonial Cemetery there. At the time of the American Revolution there were many Johnstons in Savannah, but it is impossible to say how many of these may have been relatives of the printer.

During the War of the Revolution the Johnstons of Savannah remained for the most part loyal to the King, but James was probably not ardent in his loyalist sympathies. He was bitterly opposed to the Stamp Tax, and suspended his *Georgia Gazette* for six months, from November 1765 to May 1766, rather than pay the newspaper tax of one penny a sheet. But when opposition to the colonial policy of the home government reached the point of actual armed resistance, Johnston did not join the revolutionary party. On the contrary, his attitude seems to have brought him under the displeasure of the Revolutionary government of Georgia almost from the first. In the Proceedings of the Georgia Council of Safety, the following entry appears under the date of 16 January 1776:

A motion was made, seconded and agreed to, that a committee be appointed to examine the printer's office, to see whether there was not something to be published this week, that might endanger the public safety.

Whether or not because of repressive action on the part of the Council of Safety, Johnston seems to have suspended his *Georgia Gazette* once more with the issue of 7 February 1776. For nearly five years he appears no more on record as a printer.

These were troublous years for Georgia, although its position left this colony far from the decisive conflicts of the Revolution. A sort of inconclusive civil war embroiled its people. On 1 March 1778 the Georgia Revolutionary Legislature included

in an Act of Attainder for high treason the names of 117 persons, among them James Johnston and five others of the Johnston name. But the British forces seized Savannah on 29 December of the same year, and this Act of Attainder was never fully carried into effect. In the following month, on 21 January 1779, a loyalist, John Daniel Hammerer, established in Savannah a newspaper, the *Royal Georgia Gazette*, in the place of James Johnston's defunct *Georgia Gazette*. But in the course of a year or so, James Johnston had taken this over.¹

In May 1782 the British evacuated Savannah. The Revolutionary Government, once more in control, passed a second Act of Attainder on 4 May. In this Act, James Johnston was named among those who were declared banished from Georgia under drastic penalties and subjected to the confiscation of their property. In the Proceedings of the Georgia Commissioners on Confiscated Estates the following entry appears under the date of 13 June 1782:

A house and Lot in Savannah late James Johnstons £365

with a notation of the sale of the property to one John Waudin. It is significant that the latest known issue of Johnston's *Royal Georgia Gazette* is that of 6 June 1782. For the third time his activities as a publisher are suspended.

Whether or not Johnston actually left Georgia under the decree of banishment is not known. If he did so, it was not for long, for in January 1783 Johnston was once more publishing a newspaper in Savannah. His name does not appear in any of the Acts of Amercement that have survived the many

¹ No issues of this *Royal Georgia Gazette* are to be found between 11 March 1779, the latest known issue to bear the name of Hammerer, and 4 January 1781, the earliest known issue with the name of Johnston. But Johnston's imprint appears on an eight-page pamphlet published in 1780, entitled *An account of the Siege of Savannah; Chiefly Extracted from the Royal Georgia Gazette*. It seems likely, therefore, that Johnston was the publisher of the paper in 1780.

vicissitudes suffered by the colonial records of Georgia. But he was undoubtedly among the many who were released from the penalties of the Act of Attainder within a few months after that Act was passed.¹ On 30 January 1783 appeared the first issue of his third and last newspaper venture, the *Gazette of the State of Georgia*.

Nearly six years later, 23 October 1788, with No. 300 of the new paper, Johnston went back to the name he had given to his first publication, and as the *Georgia Gazette* it continued to the end. With the issue of 7 January 1790, the publisher, now over fifty, was no doubt proud to publish the name of a new firm, James and Nicholas Johnston, as the announcement of the coming of his twenty-one year old son into partnership. The great fire at Savannah in November 1796 caused the suspension of the paper for nine months, and when publication was resumed again, on 2 September 1797, the name 'N. Johnston & Co.' appeared as the publishers.

Nicholas died 20 October 1802. The issue of the *Gazette* dated the following day bore no printer's name. A week later, James Johnston is once more named as printer. Four more issues followed, but in the last, 25 November 1802, James Johnston announced that the firm of N. Johnston & Co. was dissolved by the death of Nicholas Johnston and the poor health and advanced age of James Johnston. James lived, however, for six years more. He died 4 October 1808, and was buried in the Colonial Cemetery at Savannah beside his father and mother.

The known output of James Johnston's press, aside from his

¹ Mrs. William L. Vance, a direct descendant of James Johnston and a resident of Georgia, contributes the following interesting note: 'My grandmother had deeds which had belonged to James Johnston, Sr., and a letter from Noble Jones, Commissioner of Savannah, returning to her grandmother, Mrs. James Johnston, Sr., property confiscated during the Revolutionary War.' The restoration of property to Mrs. Johnston was probably after the death of her husband in 1808.

newspapers, consists almost entirely of official printing done for the General Assembly of the province of Georgia during the earlier years of his activities as a printer. The official printing included a considerable number of separate acts of the Assembly or amendments thereof, several pamphlets or volumes of collected acts, a journal of the Commons House of Assembly, and some proclamations by the governor. From the sale of these the printer doubtless realized some revenue. Most of them are advertised for sale from time to time in the *Georgia Gazette*. All known specimens show the handiwork of a capable and conscientious craftsman.

Johnson's activities as public printer continued at least through 1791, although after about 1773 he probably enjoyed no statutory monopoly, but only such as was due to the fact that for a number of years he was still the only printer in Savannah. In 1778 the name of William Lancaster appears in the imprint on an Act of the State Legislature. But the imprint of Johnston appears on three pieces of official printing in 1783 and on one in 1784; and copies of Acts of the General Assembly passed in February 1785, when the legislature was still meeting at Savannah, may possibly be ascribed to him, although they bear no imprint. The latest known official reference to Johnston as a printer is in an appropriation act of 24 December 1791, in which £45 8*d.* is appropriated to be paid to him for work done. Nothing now exists to indicate what that work may have been. At that time, John Erdman Smith, at Augusta, appears to have been the official state printer.

In addition to his activities as a printer, Johnston imported and sold books. In the first two issues of his *Georgia Gazette*, in April 1763, he announces the books he has for sale 'At the Printing-Office in Broughton-Street'. The list includes Swift, Defoe, Rollins, Hume, Addison, Congreve, Bacon, Molière, Voltaire, Shakespeare, Dryden, Butler, Locke, Pope, Pascal, and Young. For the classic authors, there are Cato, Seneca,

Josephus, Æsop's Fables, and 'Patercule'. Religious books are many—Bibles, sermons, devotional exercises, and 'catechisms of different sorts'. Science is represented by a book entitled *Elaboratory Laid Open; or the Secrets of Modern Chemistry and Pharmacy Revealed*.

This stock moved slowly, for in a full-page announcement in the *Gazette* of 10 November practically all the books of the first list are found again. In addition appear Fielding, Bunyan, and Johnson's *English Dictionary*, and in the classics, Sallust, Nepos, Ovid, Virgil, Caesar, Horace, and also Barclay's *Greek Grammar*. The announcement concludes with an extensive assortment of 'articles of stationary'.

A clearance sale was announced on 16 February 1764, in which most of the books already stocked were listed for sale 'at a low advance on first cost'. In later years, however, the book stock seems to have moved more quickly, as new titles appear more frequently on the lists.

The writer of this article is now engaged in the preparation of a bibliography of printing in eighteenth-century Georgia, which is to include a biography of James Johnston. Notes from members of the Bibliographical Society who may be able to shed light on any details of Johnston's life and work will be gratefully appreciated.

THE
SOUTH-CAROLINA and GEORGIA
ALMANACK,

FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD
1764.

(Being BISSEXTILE or LEAP-YEAR.)

Fitted to the Meridian of 33 Degrees North Latitude, which
renders it serviceable to the Provinces of NORTH and SOUTH-
CAROLINA, GEORGIA, FLORIDA, and LOUISIANA..

CONTAINING

THE GARDENER'S CALENDAR, PROFIT and LOSS in the
LAYS-WARS and many other useful Things.

By JOHN TOBLER, Esq;

*Here, Reader, see, in Year's in Age, or Prime,
The stealing Steps of never-flashing Time,
With Wisdom mark the Moment as it flies,
Think what a Moment is—to him that dies,*

GEORGIA:
SAVANNAH, Printed by JAMES JOHNSTON.

Title-page of Johnston's 1764 Almanac
(reproduced in actual size)

L

A N A C T

To prevent stealing of Horses and neat Cattle; and for the more effectual Discovery and Punishment of such Persons as shall unlawfully brand, mark, or kill the same.

WHEREAS no Law hath hitherto been provided in this Province, to prevent the great Evils of stealing Horses and neat Cattle, and of unlawfully branding, marking, or killing the same, whereby the said wicked Practices are become very common, to the great Discouragement and Detriment of the honest Inhabitants, for the Prevention of which for the future, and that proper Encouragement may be given for the Discovery of the same, We humbly pray your Most Sacred Majesty, that it may be enacted, And be it Enacted, by his Excellency HENRY ELLIS, Esquire, Captain-General and Governor in Chief of his Majesty's Province of Georgia, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Honourable Council and Commons House of Assembly of the said Province, in General Assembly met, and by the Authority of the same, That an Act of Parliament in the first Year of the Reign of King Edward the VI. intituled, *An Act for the Repeal of certain Statutes concerning Treason and Felonies*, in so far as the same relates to the felonious stealing of Horses, Geldings, or Mares, and also another Act of Parliament made in the second and third Years of the Reign of the said King, intituled, *A Bill for Horse and Horse Stealers*, are, and are hereby declared, immediately from and after the passing this Act, to be in full Force in this Province, to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever.

II. And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That the Justices assigned, or to be assigned, to keep the Peace in the several Districts in this Province, shall be, and are hereby appointed Toll-masters in their respective Districts, with full Power and Authority to exercise, within their several Districts, all and every the Powers given them as Toll-masters, by Virtue of this Act.

III. And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Toll-masters appointed, or hereafter to be appointed, by Virtue of this Act, shall have Power to administer Oaths to the Persons avouching or tolling before them respectively, and are hereby declared to be sufficient Judges of the Proof of the Property of the Person so tolling; and, upon such Proof appearing sufficient, are hereby required and directed to toll or avouch any Horse, Mare, Gelding, Colt, or Filly, for that Purpose produced to them, or either of them; and, in a Book for that End to be kept, shall enter the Time of Sale, and the Name and Place of Dwelling of every Seller and Buyer of such Horse, Mare, Gelding, Colt, or Filly, and the burnt Mark, or other notable Flesh Mark thereof, and the Price of the Thing for which the same is sold or exchanged; and shall, under his Hand and Seal, give a Certificate of such Entry to every Person requiring the same, upon the Payment of One Shilling and Six-pence Sterling for his Trouble therein, under

Penalty,

Enacted,

That certain Acts herein mentioned, in so far as they relate to the felonious stealing of Horses, Geldings, or Mares, are hereby declared, immediately after the passing hereof, to be in full Force in this Province. Justices of the Peace appointed Toll-masters in their respective Districts.

Said Toll-masters empowered to administer Oaths to Persons avouching before them, and declared to be sufficient Judges of the Proof of the Property of the Person so tolling, which appearing sufficient, are empowered to toll any Horse, &c. produced to them, and shall enter in a Book the Time of Sale, and Name and Residence of the Seller and Buyer, and give

A C T S
PASSED BY THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF
G E O R G I A,

At a Session begun and holden at *Savannah*, on *Wednesday* the
11th Day of *November*, *Anno Dom.* 1761, in the second Year
of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord GEORGE the Third, by
the Grace of God, of *Great-Britain, France and Ireland*, King,
Defender of the Faith, and so forth; and from thence continued
by several Adjournments to the 4th Day of *March*, 1762, being
the second Session of this present Assembly.



SAVANNAH: PRINTED BY JAMES JOHNSTON.

Title-page of James Johnston's first volume of collected acts, 1764
(reduced to about two-thirds of actual size)

TRAVEL AND TOPOGRAPHY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

A Bibliography of Sources for Economic History

BY G. E. FUSSELL AND CONSTANCE GOODMAN

INTRODUCTION



HE diaries of travellers are being increasingly used as sources of historical students, and these diaries, even those concerned mainly with the antiquities of the countryside, contain notes of the greatest value in reconstructing the daily lives of the common people.

It is a little unfortunate that there were not more hypochondriacs like Celia Fiennes. We might then have had a succession of diaries covering travels throughout the country, and, if they had contained pertinent remarks upon the local food and habits such as she makes, some controversial points might have been settled long ago. The race of strenuous invalids, if such the fair Celia could be called, is not numerous, and the difficulties of travel and accommodation she encountered must have deterred a good many adventurous but less hardy souls from emulating her exploits.

Travellers' diaries were, however, written and published, and in this bibliography an attempt has been made to select those most likely to be of service to the student of social conditions in the eighteenth century.

In the early years of the century the number of diaries is comparatively small, but as the century advances they become more numerous. It is not till the fourth quarter that travelling became rather popular, and the writing of diaries of observations made upon the journey almost habitual. The improve-

ment in the roads and inns had, as Gilbert Sheldon says,¹ given the power of movement to the English middle class, and people set out to see the country. While doing so, they recorded their impressions either in diaries or in letters to their friends, and quite a number of them published these observations at a later date. Curiosity as to the country was growing and we may assume that the books had a ready sale.

Such tourists did not set out in an altogether haphazard way, but they had in view different objects from those which directed Young's travels and Marshall's records of rural economy in the different districts where he lived. The object of the, so to say, lay tourist was to see the country: he wanted views and what he was pleased to call 'the picturesque'. Consequently we find that many of these diarists and letter-writers visited the same parts of the country, while other parts, not less interesting to us, were comparatively neglected. The favourite places were almost the same then as they are to-day with the more ubiquitous motorist. The Lakes, North Wales, the South Coast, the Peak, Yorkshire, South Wales, the New Forest, the Wye Valley, Cornwall, and Devon all come in for a large share of attention. The midlands and the eastern counties are comparatively neglected, although a few travellers passed through them and noticed what they saw.

Since they were sightseers, the tourists gave most attention to the appearance of the countryside through which they passed. They record the condition of the land, the state of cultivation and 'improvement', and whether it is open field or 'neat' enclosures. Naturally they have much to say about the inns and innkeepers, as well as the kind and quality of road which impeded their progress. Most eighteenth-century roads seem to have done little else.

Moreover, because every one was a patriot and every one was interested in the rapid development of the country, these

¹ *From Trackway to Turnpike*, 1928, p. 118.

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tourists record the industries pursued in the towns and sometimes rates of wages. They remark, too, upon the divergences of local diet from that to which they had been accustomed, but not often so fully as we could wish: they do note, sometimes with emphasis, the articles of food and drink they were offered at roadside cottages when the inns failed, and on these occasions sometimes remark upon the construction and size of the cottages as well as the furniture they saw, and the clothing worn by the cottagers.

But they were more interested in the great houses than in the cottages. They were not writing for posterity, and their friends were more likely, even as they, to find the description of a sumptuous newly-built mansion, or of an ancient and venerable house, more fascinating than that of the 'mean' dwellings of the poorer classes. They were not morbidly interested in the 'poor', although sometimes moved to moral animadversions upon their situation. Still the tourist believed the condition of the poor to be inevitable, or the result of vice, and it could not, in the nature of things, be helped. Had they been writing with one eye upon posterity, they would have given us even more information about the lives of the common people than they interjected in so unemphatic a way: as it is, they have, almost accidentally, preserved many a picture of contemporary life that throws a bright illumination upon the impressions which can be gathered from other sources.

The curiosity shown by the tourists in the agricultural and industrial development of those parts of the country they visited seems to have been in a degree general. The number of books which may be described as topography, although their compilers often call them geography, or a tour, is fairly large, and they were reprinted in a more or less amended, expanded, and up-to-date form at frequent intervals.

The design of all these works is almost uniform. A short general discussion of the country is followed by a description

of each county. The county description gives a list of the products, agricultural and manufactured, the minerals and the fishery in the case of coastal shires, and this is followed by a list of towns with varying information. Sometimes each town is described in detail, sometimes only in outline, the kind of matter provided being largely dependent upon the space at the compiler's disposal.

It is almost self-evident that the compilers of the later publications would copy a good deal of the material from earlier works, and some reserve must be exercised in applying all that they say to contemporary life; but many do make some attempt to bring the information up to date. The value of these works has been discussed more fully in another place,¹ but clearly there was a necessity for the compilers to produce information unlikely to be found ludicrous by those who lived in the counties, and, when it is remembered that this type of book was widely subscribed for, we shall see that there was some safeguard against obvious errors and anachronisms. The precise degree of accuracy which each work presents can, however, ultimately be decided only by a careful comparison of its contents with those published before it.

Since this bibliography does not pretend to be a complete list of all tourists' and travellers' diaries and letters, and of topographical works, it will be well to add here a list of other bibliographical works on this and kindred subjects, from which those who wish to do so can expand the present bibliography. These are:

A Bibliographical Account of the Principal Works relating to English Topography. William Upcott. 1818.

The Book of British Topography. A classified catalogue of the Topographical works in the Library of the British Museum relating to Great Britain and Ireland. John P. Anderson. 1881.

¹ G. E. Fussell, 'Agriculture and Economic Geography in the Eighteenth Century', *Geographical Journal*.

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Hand list of catalogues and works of reference relating to Carto-Bibliography and Kindred Subjects for Great Britain and Ireland, 1720-1927. Sir Herbert George Fordham. and other works.

It should be added that there is a large number of descriptions of separate counties in addition to those published by the Board of Agriculture at the end of the century. The value of these as historical sources fluctuates widely, and only a very few of them have been included. An exhaustive list could only be compiled from each county heading in the British Museum Catalogue, and is not necessary here.

The list has been arranged chronologically according to the date at which the tours were made and not according to date of publication.

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(45) SAMUEL DERRICK. *Letters written from Leverpoole, Chester, &c.* 2 vols. 12°. 1767.

(46) *The beauties of England, or a comprehensive view of the chief villages, market towns, and cities, &c.* 12°. 1767.

(47) *Rural Elegance Displayed, or the description of four western counties*. 12°. 1768.

(48) ARTHUR YOUNG. *A six weeks' tour through the southern counties of England and Wales*. 8°. 1768.

(49) *A description of England and Wales containing a particular account of each county, &c.* 10 vols. 12°. 1769.

(50) A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN. *England displayed*. . . Revised by P. Russell . . . and Owen Price. 2 vols. fol. 1769.

(51) WILLIAM GILPIN. *Observations on several parts of the counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. Also . . . several parts of North Wales . . . in two tours . . . 1769 . . . 1773*. 8°. 1809.

(52) JOSEPH CRADOCK. *Letters from Snowden descriptive of a tour through the Northern Counties of Wales*. 8°. 1770.

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- (53) ARTHUR YOUNG. A six months' tour through the north of England. 2 vols. 8°. 1770.
- (54) The new present state of Great Britain. 1770.
- (55) WILLIAM GILPIN. Observations on the River Wye, and several parts of South Wales, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the summer of 1770. 8°. 1782.
Useful.
- (56) ARTHUR YOUNG. The farmer's tour through the east of England. 4 vols. 8°. 1771.
- (57) N. SPENCER. The complete English traveller, or, a new survey and description of England and Wales. fol. 1771.
- (58) M. PIERRE JEAN GROSLEY, F.R.S. A tour to London, or new observations on England and its inhabitants, tr. by THOMAS NUGENT, LL.D. 2 vols. 8°. 1772.
- (59) RICHARD BEATNIFFE (Ed.). The Norfolk tour, or Traveller's Pocket Companion. 8°. 1772.
Compiled.
- (60) WILLIAM GILPIN. Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772 . . . particularly . . . the mountains and lakes of Westmorland and Cumberland. 2 vols. 8°. 1786.
Mainly concerned with great houses and views, but contains very slight incidental remarks; begins 1 May 1772.
- (61) T. Q. (THOMAS QUINCEY). A tour in the Midland Counties of England, performed in the summer of 1772. Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xlv, p. 206, &c.
Also published separately, as follows:
A short tour in the midland counties of England performed in the summer of 1772, with an account of a similar excursion undertaken Sept. 1774. 8°. 1775.
- (62) THOMAS PENNANT. A tour in Wales, 1770 (or rather 1773). 2 vols. 4°. 1778-81.

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- (63) WILLIAM HUTCHINSON. An excursion to the Lakes in Westmorland and Cumberland . . . August, 1773. 8°. 1774.
- (64) WILLIAM HUTCHINSON. Excursion to the Lakes . . . in 1773 and 1774. 8°. 1776.
- (65) MRS. ANNE GRANT OF LAGGAN. Letters from the mountains. Being the real correspondence of a lady between the years 1773 and 1807. 3 vols. 12°. 1807.
- (66) H. P. WYNDHAM. A gentleman's tour through Monmouthshire and Wales. In the months of June and July, 1774. 8°. 1775.
- (67) WILLIAM GOSTLING. A walk in and about the city of Canterbury. 8°. 1774.
- (68) The late REV. JOHN ENTICK. The present state of the British Empire . . . by J. E. . . . and other gentlemen. 4 vols. 8°. 1774.
- (69) WILLIAM GILPIN. Observations on the Coasts of Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the summer of the year 1774. 8°. 1804.
Usual slight remarks.
- (70) SAMUEL JOHNSON. A diary of a journey into North Wales in the year 1774. 8°. 1816.
Disappointing.
- (71) THOMAS JEFFERYS. Jeffery's itinery ; or, traveller's companion. obl. 8°. 1775.
- (72) SAMUEL RAYMOND, M.A. (Ed.). Diary of a visit to England in 1775 by an Irishman. (The Rev. Dr. Thomas Campbell ; notes by the editor.) 12°. 1854.
- (73) The Kentish traveller's companion. 12°. 1776.
- (74) WILLIAM GILPIN. Observations relative to picturesque beauty, made in 1776, on several parts of Great Britain, particularly the Highlands of Scotland. 2 vols. 8°. 1789.

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- (75) JOSEPH CRADOCK. An account of some of the most romantic parts of North Wales, 1776. 8°. 1777.
- (76) WILLIAM HUTCHINSON. A view of Northumberland . . . anno 1776. 2 vols. 4°. 1778.
- (77) THOMAS WEST. A guide to the lakes. 8°. 1778.
Deals mainly with 'the picturesque'.
- (78) A Journal of first thoughts, observations, characters, and anecdotes which occurred in a journey from London to Scarborough in 1779. 12°. 1781.
- (79) CHARLES BURLINGTON. The modern universal British traveller; or, a new, complete, and accurate tour through England, Wales, and Scotland. . . . fol. 1779.
Arranged in counties; really a topographical compilation.
- (80) A brief description of England and Wales, containing a particular account of each county; with its antiquities, &c. 12°. 1780?
- (81) R. J. SULIVAN. Observations made during a tour through parts of England, Scotland, and Wales in a series of letters. 4°. 1780.
- (82) A description of Brighthelmston, and the adjacent country. 12°. 1780.
- (83) A month's tour in North Wales, Dublin and its environs. With observations on their manners and police in the year 1780. 12°. 1781.
- (84) JOHN HUTTON. A tour to the caves in the environs of Ingleborough and Settle, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. 2nd ed. 8°. 1781.
- (85) Viator; or, a journey from London to Scarborough by the way of York. 1782.
A poem; curious, but not useful.
- (86) THOMAS PENNANT. The journey from Chester to London. 4°. 1782.

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- (87) LOUIS DUTENS. Journals of travels made through the principal cities of Europe. 2 pts. 8°. 1782.
No practical use—mostly roads.
- (88) C. P. MORITZ. Travels through several parts of England in 1782. (Tr. by a lady.) 12°. 1798.
In W. F. Mavor's *The British Tourists*, vol. iv.
- (89) WILLIAM BRAY. Sketch of a tour into Derbyshire and Yorkshire, &c. 8°. 1783.
- (90) SIMEON MOREAU. Tour to Cheltenham Spa ; or Gloucestershire display'd. 12°. 1783.
- (91) GEORGE AUGUSTUS WALPOLE (Ed.). The new British Traveller ; or, A complete modern universal display of Great Britain and Ireland. 1784 ?
The date is doubtful ; refers to Edward Barnard's History dated by B. Museum under query 1790.
- (92) ARTHUR YOUNG (Ed.). Annals of agriculture. 45 vols. 1784-1809.
There are numerous tours by Arthur Young and others in the Annals, but these can readily be traced from the indexes.
- (93) A GENTLEMAN. A pocket vade-mecum through Monmouthshire and a part of South Wales . . . in the year 1785. 8°. 1785.
- (94) W. HUTTON. A journey from Birmingham to London. 12°. 1785.
- (95) THOMAS NEWTE, Esq. A tour in England and Scotland. 1785. 8°. 1791.
- (96) WILLIAM MARSHALL. The rural economy of Norfolk. 2 vols. 8°. 1787.
- (97) Eenige Berichten omtrent Groot Britanien en Yrlonde. 8°. 1787.
- (98) STEBBING SHAW. A tour in 1787, from London, to the Western Highlands of Scotland, &c. 12°. 1788.

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- (99) WILLIAM MARSHALL. *The rural economy of Yorkshire.* 2 vols. 8°. 1788.
- (100) *England described ; or, the traveller's Companion.* To which is added, as an appendix, a brief account of Wales. 8°. 1788.
- (101) JOHN AIKIN. *England delineated ; or a geographical description of every county in England and Wales.* 8°. 1788.
- (102) STEBBING SHAW. *A tour to the west of England in 1788.* 8°. 1789.
- (103) W. HUTTON. *A description of Blackpool in Lancashire,* 1788. 8°. 2nd ed. 1804.
- (104) WILLIAM MARSHALL. *The rural economy of Gloucestershire.* 2 vols. 8°. 1789.
- (105) HENRY WIGSTEAD and THOMAS ROWLANDSON. *An excursion to Brighthelmstone made in the year 1789.* obl. 4°. 1790.
- (106) (Il Cavaliere Angiolini) *Lettere sopra l'Inghilterra, Scozia e Olanda.* 2 vols. 8°. Firenze, 1790.
- (107) WILLIAM MARSHALL. *Rural economy of the midland counties.* 2 vols. 8°. 1790.
- (108) J. HASSELL. *A tour of the Isle of Wight.* 2 vols. 8°. 1790.
- (109) W. HUTTON. *The history of Derby to the year 1791.* 8°. 1791.
- (110) WILLIAM GILPIN. *Remarks on forest scenery and other woodland views (relative chiefly to picturesque beauty), illustrated by the scenes of the New Forest in Hampshire.* 8°. 1791.
- Social information slight, but some remarks about the condition of the New Forest and Hampshire.

98 *Travel and Topography in Eighteenth-century England*

- (111) J. H. MEISTER. *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Angleterre*. 12°. 1791.
Translated in 1799 as 'Letters written during a residence in England'.
- (112) WILLIAM TUNNICLIFF. *A topographical survey of the counties . . . commonly called the Western Circuit*. 8°. 1791.
- (113) PHILIP LUCKOMBE. *Beauties of England and Wales*. 2 vols. 12°. 1791.
- (114) EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE. *A tour through the south of England and part of Ireland made during the summer of 1791*. 8°. 1793.
- (115) A GENTLEMAN. *A tour from London to the Lakes made in the summer of 1791*. 12°. 1792.
- (116) (MRS.) MARY MORGAN. *A tour to Milford Haven in the year 1791*. 8°. 1795.
- (117) ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON. *A topographical survey of the great road from London to Bath and Bristol*. 2 pts. 8° and 4°. 1792.
- (118) F. W. VON HASSELL. *Briefe aus England*. 8°. 1792.
- (119) *The traveller's companion from Holyhead to London*. 12°. 1793.
- (120) REV. RICHARD WARNER. *Topographical remarks relating to the South Western parts of Hampshire*. 2 vols. 8°. 1793.
- (121) H. P. WYNDHAM. *A picture of the Isle of Wight in the year 1793*. 8°. 1794.
- (122) BOARD OF AGRICULTURE. *The county reports by various authors issued under the title of 'General View of the Agriculture of Bedford', &c.* 1794 et seq.
Two editions (in some cases three) relating to each county, the first issued in 1794 and the revisions later. All can be found under the heading 'Academies: Board of Agriculture' in the British Museum catalogue.

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- (123) J. HUCKS, B.A. A pedestrian tour through North Wales (1794) in a series of letters. 12°. 1795.
- (124) DR. WM. GEORGE MATON. Observations relating chiefly to the natural history, &c., of the western counties, made in the years 1794 and 1796. 2 vols. 8°. 1797.
- (125) S. J. PRATT. Gleanings through Wales, Holland, and Westphalia. 4 vols. 8°. 1795.
Vol. iv is Gleanings in England, which was subsequently enlarged.
- (126) HENRY SKRINE. Three successive tours in the North of England. 4°. 1795.
The preface refers to Gray's and West's tours of the lakes, to Dr. Johnson's journey and to Pennant—so to some extent derivative.
- (127) HENRY SKRINE. Tours in the North of England. 1795.
- (128) JAMES BAKER. A picturesque guide through Wales and the Marches. 3 vols. 4°. 2nd ed. 1795.
- (129) JOHN AIKIN. A description of the country from thirty to forty miles round Manchester. 4°. 1795.
- (130) JOHN FERRAR OF LIMERICK. A tour from Dublin to London in 1795. 8°. 1796.
- (131) JOHN MANNERS, DUKE OF RUTLAND. Journal of three years travels through different parts of Great Britain in 1795, 1796, and 1797. 3 vols. 8°. 1805.
- (132) REV. WILLIAM MACRITCHIE (OF EDINBURGH). Diary of a tour through Great Britain in 1795. 8°. 1897.
- (133) WILLIAM MARSHALL. Rural Economy of the west of England. 2 vols. 8°. 1796.
- (134) G. WOODWARD. Eccentric excursions in England and Wales. 4°. 1796.
- (135) A. B. L. MAUDET DE PENHOUE. Letters describing a tour through part of South Wales, 1796. 4°. 1797.

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- (136) ARTHUR AIKIN. *Journal of a tour through North Wales and part of Shropshire.* 8°. 1797.
Made in Summer of 1796: describes the industries but not in great detail, and has some useful remarks on agriculture.
- (137) J. W. VON ARCHENHOLZ. *A picture of England . . . trans. from the German.* 12°. 1797.
Deals almost exclusively with London.
- (138) REV. RICHARD WARNER. *A walk through Wales in August 1797.* 8°.
In same volume is *A second walk through Wales . . . in Aug. and Sept. 1798*, published in 1799.
- (139) VON EINEM FRANZÖSISCHEN OFFIZIER. *Meine Fussreise durch die drey brittischen Königreiche. Voran einige Nachrichten von dem Feldzuge in Champagne.* 8°. 1797.
- (140) HENRY WIGSTEAD. *Remarks on a tour through North and South Wales, in the year 1797.* 8°. 1800.
- (141) HENRY SKRINE. *Two successive tours throughout the whole of Wales. . . .* 8°. 1798.
Compiled in the course of several journeys in different summers: some remarks on the state of cultivation, &c.
- (142) WILLIAM MARSHALL. *The rural economy of the southern counties of England.* 2 vols. 8°. 1798.
- (143) WILLIAM GILPIN. *Observations on the western parts of England, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty. To which are added a few remarks on . . . the Isle of Wight.* 8°. 1798.
- (144) REV. W. BINGLEY, B.A. *A tour round North Wales performed during the summer of 1798.* 2 vols. 8°. 1800.
- (145) REV. JOHN EVANS, B.A. *A tour through part of North Wales in the year 1798 and at other times.* 8°. 1800.
- (146) GEORGE LIPSCOMB. *A journey into Cornwall.* 8°. 1799.

- (147) JOHN HOUSMAN. A topographical description of Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, &c. . . . 8°. 1800.

'Besides my own observations made in different tours, I have extracted from the works of several popular writers.' Information as to productions, trade, markets, &c.

- (148) THOMAS PENNANT. A tour from Downing to Alston Moor. 4°. 1801.

- (149) THOMAS PENNANT. A journey from London to the Isle of Wight. 2 vols. bound as one. 4°. 1801.

- (150) S. J. PRATT. Gleanings in England. 2 vols. 8°. 2nd ed. 1801.

- (151) J. EDWARDS. A companion from London to Brighthelmston. large 4°. 1801.

- (152) REV. CLEMENT CRUTTWELL. A tour through the whole Island of Great Britain. 6 vols. 8°. 1801.

Arranged under counties: really a topography and probably not a bona-fide tour at all.

- (153) THOMAS EVANS. Cambrian itinerary, or, Welsh tourist. 12°. 1801.

- (154) CHARLES DIBDIN. Observations on a tour . . . in a series of letters. 2 vols. 4°. 1801-2.

- (155) ALEXANDER CAMPBELL. A journey from Edinburgh through parts of North Britain. 2 vols. 4°. 1802.

- (156) REV. RICHARD WARNER. A tour through the Northern counties of England. 2 vols. 8°. 1808.

Useful descriptions of industries, &c.

- (157) JAMES BAKER. Multum in parvo. Fashionable tours . . . 12°. 1802.

- (158) JOHN EVANS. Circular tour from Chester through North Wales. 32°. 1802.

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- (159) C. A. G. GOEDE. *The stranger in England, or, Travels in Great Britain (1802-3)*. 3 vols. bound as one, small 8°. 1807.
- (160) GEORGE ALEXANDER COOKE. *The modern British traveller*. 47 vols. 12°. 1802 ?-1810 ?
- (161) J. P. MALCOLM. *Excursions in Kent . . . in 1802, 1803, and 1805*. 8°. 2nd ed. 1814.
- (162) W. HUTTON. *Remarks upon North Wales, being the result of sixteen tours through that part of the Principality*. 8°. 1803.
- (163) J. T. BARBER, F.S.A. *A tour throughout South Wales and Monmouthshire*. 8°. 1803.
- (164) W. HUTTON. *The Scarborough tour in 1803*. 8°. 1804.
- (165) REV. EDMUND BUTCHER. *An excursion from Sidmouth to Chester in the summer of 1803 in a series of letters to a lady*. 12°. 1805.
- (166) ANN SUSANNAH NICHOLS. *Journal of a very young lady's tour from Canonbury to Aldborough through Chelmsford . . . and back through Harwich . . . Sept. 13-21st, 1804*. 8°. 1804.
Doggerel verse : amusing but not very useful.
- (167) JOHN EVANS, A.M. *Picture of Worthing : to which is added an account of the adjacent villages*. 2 vols. 12°.
He spent the month of July 1804 in the district : some notes on the journey from London.
- (168) THOMAS PENNANT. *A tour from Alston Moor to Harrogate and Brimham Crag*s. 4°. 1804.
- (169) COLONEL T. THORNTON. *A sporting tour through the northern parts of England and great part of the Highlands of Scotland*. 4°. 1804.
- (170) REV. JOHN EVANS, B.A. *Letters written during a tour through South Wales . . .* 8°. 1804.

- (171) EDWARD DONOVAN. Excursions in South Wales and Monmouthshire in 1804 and the four preceding summers. 2 vols. 8°. 1805.
- (172) M. JOHANN JACOB FERBER. An essay on the oryctography of Derbyshire, a province of England, by the celebrated mineralogist M. Ferber. Trans. from the German. J. Pinkerton. A general Collection of Voyages, vol. 2, 1808 ?
- (173) WILLIAM GILPIN. Observations on several parts of England. 2 vols. 3rd ed. 8°. 1808.
- (174) W. HUTTON. A trip to Coatham in 1808. 8°. 1810.
- (175) JOHN HUTCHINSON. Tour through the High Peak of Derbyshire. 12°. 1809.
Notes about population density, employment, &c.
- (176) L. SIMOND. Journal of a tour and residence in Great Britain by a French traveller (during 1810 and 1811). 2 vols. 8°. 1815.
- (177) ALEXANDER DENNIS. Journal of a tour through great part of England and Scotland in the year 1810. Performed by Alexander Dennis of Trembath, Cornwall. 12°. 1816.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Geschichte der abendländischen Schreibschriftformen, von HERMANN DELITSCH.
Leipzig, Hiersemann, 1928.

THIS is an original and stimulating book, which future writers on palaeography will have to study with care, even though they may not always agree with its conclusions. It covers an astonishingly wide field. To deal with the whole history of Western writing, from the earliest Latin examples to the present day, in about two hundred pages of text is a formidable, one might say a terrifying, proposition, even although 'Western' is taken to exclude the Greek and Slavonic alphabets. Yet the author has tackled it with unflinching courage and industry, and—this is the important feature—from a new point of view. He is a calligrapher of very exceptional skill. Otherwise he could never have produced the four hundred accurate imitations of nearly as many different varieties of script with which he has filled eighty-eight pages of illustrations dispersed among the text. And the experience gained in learning to write all these hands could hardly fail to give the book a unique value. Moreover, the author has a readable style as well as analytical skill in explaining the results of his practical study of the historical problems. His reading, too, is adequate and not obtrusive, and does not mar the independence of his method.

With the advantages gained by this new outlook, which makes the book specially interesting, it is not surprising to find certain limitations imposed partly by Dr. Delitsch's special attitude towards his subject, partly by the restriction of his space, which render the book scarcely suitable for putting into a beginner's hands as a manual of palaeography. It needs to be used with a much more extended range of photographic facsimiles than the sixteen excellent collotype plates at the end of the volume. Otherwise the reader might easily derive some erroneous

impressions. For example, in reading up the period of the 'National hands' he would probably get the idea that these hands are at once more simple to discriminate and more difficult to read than they actually are. In general, also, the author's curiosity as to the why and wherefore of unusual and bizarre forms of letters gives them rather too much prominence in the treatment of the different scripts.

It is not easy on a first reading to say which period of palaeography the author will be found to have rendered the best service. Probably there will be lessons to be learnt from him in them all. The difficulties due to lack of material for the earliest period make us anxious to know what he has to say on the evolution of the uncial, half-uncial, and cursive scripts (Dr. Delitsch, by the way, uses the term *kursiv* to mean sloping and calls the cursive alphabets *kurrent*, which is rather inconvenient), and although other writers have treated of the effect of different tools and materials in this connexion, none have done so with more practical knowledge than he has. We are grateful, too, for his explanation of the history of serifs in uncial letters. At the other end of the story Dr. Delitsch has an almost unworked field in the developments of the post-renaissance writing. Few will be prepared to assent to all the aesthetic pronouncements which he here delivers, but there is much in them that is very sound, and he gives a generous recognition to the recent English writers, from Mr. Johnston onwards, who have done so much to restore calligraphy to a creditable position among the arts.

In his discussion of that wonderful reform the creation of the Caroline minuscule we may perhaps find a not unnatural patriotic bias. It was formerly the fashion rather to exaggerate the probable influence of Alcuin, as director of Charles the Great's schools, upon the formation of the script, and no doubt an Anglo-Saxon factor can be discerned, though the fully developed script seems to have come into being before Alcuin's

arrival. Others with less justification have sought to give it a Roman origin. Dr. Delitsch appears to claim a preponderant influence for the German or East Frankish scriptoria, which is difficult to accept. Modern opinion tends rather to suggest that the type of script on which Tours mainly modelled itself was like that of Corbie, in the stage represented by the Maurdramnus Bible.

Historical and geographical considerations make it not unlikely that intensive study of German manuscripts more than those of the other countries will some day give us a guiding light through the obscurities of tenth and early eleventh-century book-hand palaeography, but of all the wealth of manuscripts of that time that survives so few have as yet been fixed to a place or date that all we can expect from Dr. Delitsch is a few observations on particular manuscripts standing mostly in isolation. His treatment of record scripts, however, during this period and onwards to 1200, though it obviously cannot cover the whole ground, contains many observations that are either new or more conveniently put than we are accustomed to find them. For the English reader, however, it is a serious gap to have no account of the modifications of charter and cursive hands in the eleventh and twelfth centuries due to the influence of the papal chancery and of Italian ecclesiastics like Lanfranc. Even in book-hands the splendid calligraphic achievements of English twelfth-century scribes are given a little less than their due recognition, for their influence upon France was important.

We have not space to discuss in detail the author's historical and critical account of the early, middle, and late Gothic hands, but to the present reviewer it is certainly not the least interesting portion of the book, perhaps because Dr. Delitsch's own aesthetic interests have here the freest play. He often says things that are provocative of controversy, but that is all to the good.

J. P. G.

English Literary Autographs, 1550-1650. Selected for reproduction and edited by W. W. GREG. In collaboration with J. P. GILSON, HILARY JENKINSON, R. B. McKERROW, A. W. POLLARD. Part II—Poets. Printed at the Oxford University Press, 1928. Price of the three parts, £4 10s.¹

THIS collection of facsimiles continues the series begun with the reproduction in 1925 of autographs of Tudor and Stuart dramatists which were reviewed in *The Library* of March 1926. It consists of thirty plates with the autographs of forty-two poets, the selecting and editing of which has, as in the case of Part I, been most admirably done by Dr. W. W. Greg.

The division of writers into playwrights, poets, and prose writers is necessarily elastic, and the absence of some poets of note from this series is explained by their previous inclusion among the dramatists. Some omissions, notably Herrick, are perhaps attributable to the fact that the editor found that no indisputable autograph was available. Lovelace and Crashaw, on the other hand, have been omitted on the ground that examples of their handwriting have lately been reproduced elsewhere. Consistency would have demanded the omission of Donne and Marvell for the same reason; while Milton, whose *Commonplace-book* and *Minor Poems* have already appeared in facsimile, is given two plates. But those of us who have regretted the absence of Lovelace and Crashaw will welcome the news of Dr. Greg's intention to include a specimen of the latter's hand in the final volume of the series. Room might have been found for the couplet and signature of George Turbervyle in Harley MS. 49; his claims appear at least greater than those of Thomas Preston, or of Henry Cheke, whose only known work is a translation of the tragedy of *Freewill*. But these are matters of personal preference and we must recognize Dr. Greg's claim to an editor's right to consult his personal interest in selection even though we do not always share his bias towards those poets

¹ To be obtained from Dr. W. W. Greg, Park Lodge, Wimbledon Park, London, S.W. 19.

who have produced works of a dramatic form. And however many opinions there may be as to who should and who should not have been included, there can be but one as to the excellence of the editing. The plates are admirably reproduced, the transcriptions flawless, while special praise must be given to the biographical and critical sketches, which are a model of their kind.

The importance of this collection of facsimiles for the literary student was emphasized in these pages in the notice of the first series of plates. Their equal importance to the palaeographer is illustrated in the notes on the handwritings of John Phillip and Edmund Spenser. For the former reproductions of three documents are included 'with a view to illustrating the difficulties of determining autography' rather than with any intention of suggesting that they are necessarily written by the same hand. In the case of Spenser, a note carefully and clearly sets forth the intricate stages which have led to the identification of the English and Italian hands of that poet. The use by one and the same person of both the Italic and English writing, the not uncommon employment of secretaries, and the attempt by clerks copying signed letters to imitate the signature, all contribute to the difficulty of deciding what is, and what is not, autograph at this period. With these specimens of the literary hand and the no less admirable plates of court hand recently edited by Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, the student of the palaeography of Elizabethan and Stuart times can no longer complain of lack of easily accessible material. He, no less than the student of literature, is under a deep obligation to Dr. Greg.

B. S.

A Concise Catalogue of the Hebrew Printed Books in the Bodleian Library. By A. E. COWLEY. pp. vii, 816. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1929. 8°.

It is a happy chance that Dr. Cowley's *Concise Catalogue* should appear this year, which coincides with the centenary of the acquisition by the Bodleian of the splendid collection of

Hebrew books and manuscripts formed by David Oppenheimer. The collection, which contained over five thousand works, was sold to the Bodleian for 9,000 thalers, which works out at less than £1,300. Even for those days the sum at which the collection was sold was ridiculously small and represented but a fraction of its value. But buyers were few a century ago and the Bodleian saw its chance and took it.

Dr. Cowley's *Concise Catalogue* is based on Steinschneider's *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (Oxford, 1852-60). Steinschneider's great work, though a mine of bibliographical information, was marred by several grave defects. In the first place it was written in a crabbed, canine, and most difficult Latin. It was overloaded with irrelevant detail, and worst of all it adopted a most arbitrary and irrational system of headings. In Dr. Cowley's *Concise Catalogue* a lucid English takes the place of an almost unintelligible Latin and the rather woolly titles are cut down to a bare but quite adequate minimum. It is to be regretted that Dr. Cowley did not thoroughly overhaul Steinschneider's chaotic system of headings. For no very cogent reasons Steinschneider divided Hebrew authors into two classes: ancient and modern. Up to about 1800 or thereabouts (for there seems to be no rigid line of demarcation) Steinschneider put the 'personal name' first in the heading, followed by the surname or its equivalent. After 1800 the surname would come first. To take a concrete instance from Dr. Cowley's *Concise Catalogue*: There are two authors both named Jacob Weil, one of them lived before 1800, the other after 1800. The main heading for the first author is Jacob Weil; for the second, Weil (Jacob). Why could they not both be entered under Weil?

For a work bearing on the title-page the honoured name of Bodley's Librarian, it is almost superfluous to add that it bears everywhere the stamp of sound scholarship. He has been particularly happy in summarizing the contents of a whole book

in a few words. The book, indeed, is throughout an amazing feat of compression. We must note, however, that if Dr. Cowley had consulted the article on Pseudonyms in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* he might have found the true names of many authors who are only entered under their initials or the names they assumed. Also a reference to Mortara's *Indice Alfabetico* (Padova, 1886) would have supplied the correct forms of some Italian Jewish names.

When one looks through the Catalogue even casually one can only echo Squeers's immortal remark: 'Here's richness.' The Bodleian has one of the finest Hebrew libraries in the world. David Oppenheimer's collection forms its mainstay, but the library has been greatly expanded by the efforts of Neubauer and of Dr. Cowley himself. The only cause for regret is that so little of modern Hebrew literature is to be found in the Bodleian. Important periodicals like *Hash-Shilōah* and *Hat-Tōren* are each represented by one number only, whilst other periodicals hardly less important are wholly absent. Of the significant figures in modern Hebrew literature hardly any appear in this Catalogue. No doubt absence of funds accounts for the very severe curtailment of accessions. It will, however, be a pity if the continuation of the Hebrew collection is neglected. For a library is like a living organism and requires constant feeding.

But for the student of the older Hebrew (and Yiddish) literature there is here a rich quarry to be mined. He will find in the literature that continuity of tradition which, more than anything else, accounts for the marvellous persistence of the Jewish race in the face of countless obstacles.

Dr. Cowley will receive the thanks of all students of Hebrew literature for having completed his immensely useful Catalogue in the midst of his many duties as Bodley's Librarian. The printing both of the Hebrew and English is excellent.

J. L.

Johnson and Boswell Revised, by themselves and others. Three Essays by DAVID NICHOL SMITH, R. W. CHAPMAN, and L. F. POWELL. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1928. pp. 66. Price 6s.

THESE three short papers, all concerned with proof-correcting and editing, offer a pleasant example of the interest which can be imparted to points in themselves mostly very small, when an enthusiast is expounding them to his fellows. Professor Nichol Smith's paper on Johnson's Revision of his publications, especially *The Rambler*, *Rasselas*, and *The Idler*, read before the Johnson Club, takes as its text Johnson's remark as to Dryden: 'What he had once written he dismissed from his thoughts: the hastiness of his productions might be the effect of necessity; but his subsequent neglect could hardly have any other cause than impatience of study', and shows with charming literary skill that Johnson himself regarded it as his duty as an author to correct any hastily written work as soon as possible after publication. When, therefore, he told Boswell in 1781 that he had not looked at *Rasselas* 'since it was first published' he meant in his own mind 'since reading, and incidentally slightly revising it, when it first appeared'. In like manner he had read and revised, much more extensively, *The Rambler* and *The Idler*, though Boswell was obviously ignorant of these revisions, and no doubt interpreted the remark as to *Rasselas* as an assertion that Johnson had not looked at it since he read it in proof. In the second paper (reprinted from *The London Mercury*) Dr. R. W. Chapman quotes from the margins of the revises of Boswell's *Life of Johnson* an amusing series of queries, compliments, and exhortations, all illustrating the immense pains which Boswell took to ensure accuracy. Lastly, in another Johnson Club paper, Dr. L. F. Powell outlines the arrangements made for a revision of Dr. Birkbeck Hill's famous edition of Boswell's *Life*, revision being needed partly because Dr. Hill, having resolved for excellent reasons to take his text from the third edition, as representing 'the work in the condi-

'tion in which it would have most approved itself to Boswell's 'own judgement', was not sufficiently alive to the errors which had crept into the text in the course of two reprintings. According to Dr. Powell 'an examination of the variants shows 'that for every correction he made the printer (of the third 'edition) made a blunder', and the recital of examples of these blunders makes interesting and salutary reading for all who are concerned with reprints. We are told that the guiding principles laid down for Dr. Powell in his work of revision are : 'first, that the pagination of the new edition should correspond 'with that of the old ; second, that the text should be revised ; 'third, that Dr. Hill's commentary should be retained and, if 'necessary, amended and supplemented', and some details are given in the paper on each point, though without explaining how the typographical difficulty of amending and supplementing the commentary while preserving the original pagination is being surmounted.

A. W. P.

An Elegy written in a country Churchyard. By THOMAS GRAY. The text of the First Quarto with the variants of the MSS. and of the early editions (1751-71), a bibliographical and historical introduction and appendixes on General Wolfe, and the *Elegy* and *The Locality of the Churchyard*. By FRANCIS GRIFFIN STOKES. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1929. 750 copies printed. Price £1 1s.

MR. STOKES has delivered all the goods set forth in his lucidly descriptive title-page and delivered them in excellent condition. Gray's famous *Elegy* is no doubt important enough, and also brief enough, to make it worth while to set down the variant readings in the three extant manuscripts, twelve editions printed in quarto (1751-63), the five magazines which appropriated the poem for the edification of their readers in its year of issue, and some twenty 'other editions' of various sorts 1751-71. Gray was annoyed by the impudent announcement of the editors of the *Magazine of Magazines* that they intended

to print his 'Stanzas', which had been circulating in manuscript, and his annoyance spurred him to get out an authorized edition (with a not very candid 'advertisement') a day before the *Magazine of Magazines* appeared. But it seems strange that when the Copyright Act of Queen Anne had been in existence for some forty years he made no attempt to suppress the piracies. Presumably it would have been troublesome, perhaps expensive, to do so, and the appropriators relied on the author's supineness and got off with profits much diminished by the competition of the authorized texts, but otherwise unscathed. Mr. Stokes does not discuss this question, but sets forth the rather unsatisfactory evidence for the dates at which the *Elegy* was written and revised (the words he appears to favour in place of 'begun and completed' used by earlier writers), compares all the versions of the story of the recital of part of the poem by General Wolfe on the eve of the assault on Quebec (preferring W. W. Currie's report of the story as told by its originator John Robison) and enumerates the points in favour of the five churchyards for which claims of inspiring the *Elegy* have been made. His own preference appears to be for Slough.

A. W. P.

British Museum Catalogue of an Exhibition of Books illustrating British and Foreign Printing, 1919-29. London. By Order of the Trustees, 1929, pp. 60. With eight insets. Price 2s. 6d.

UNDER Mr. Sharp's keepership the Department of Printed Books at the British Museum has liberated itself from an old tradition that contemporary work should not be exhibited lest jealousies should be aroused among producers and the Museum accused of favouring one more than another. The Department of Prints and Drawings had gained greatly by an earlier assertion of this freedom, and the exhibitions of modern printing in the King's Library during the last four years have all been of great interest and led to some useful acquisitions. One of the exhibitions, that of old and modern Greek printing, has already

resulted in a fine catalogue in which all the chief founts of type from the beginning to the present day are illustrated. The present catalogue is on a more modest scale, but is an attractively printed quarto, gives full information as to all the details of the books shown, with one index of printers and another of types, and is illustrated in the most modern fashion with reproductions of outstanding examples supplied by the printers and publishers from type. These include two pages from the Shakespeare Head *Froissart*, one from the Golden Cockerel Press *Passio Domini*, the title, two pages of text, and last page (with Mr. Bruce Rogers's device) of the edition of Ernest Dowson's *The Pierrot of the Minute* (one of the six books specially printed for the Grolier Club by selected American printers in 1923), characteristic French and German pages, and four pages of the *Odes* of Keats printed by A. A. M. Stols of the Halcyon Press, Bussum, which show the influence of the Doves Press in Holland. The exhibition includes altogether 189 books, of which 66 are British, 27 American, 27 German, 24 French, 17 Dutch, and 28 from other countries in Europe. Its present form is a revision (with space increased) of two earlier exhibitions of Twentieth Century English Printing held in 1926-7, and Twentieth Century Foreign Printing held in 1927-8, the period covered by the books now shown being restricted to the last decade. We are informed that the exhibition will continue on view for some months longer. It is well worth seeing and the catalogue well worth buying.

A. W. P.

The British Museum Quarterly. Vol. III, Nos. 2-4. London, published by the Trustees, 1928-9. Price 2s. each part. Annual subscription, 8s. post free.

THE *British Museum Quarterly* continues to pursue its richly illustrated way, with sixteen plates in every number. The majority of these are as usual devoted to the more decorative acquisitions of the archaeological departments, but in the

earliest of the numbers before us there is shown a page from a Montserrat *Directorio de las horas canonicas* (30 Sept. 1500), a picture of an English warship under full sail from one of three early seventeenth-century naval tracts acquired at the Petworth Sale, and two illustrations from a north Italian herbal of the early fifteenth century which was apparently compiled at Belluno, and notes plants as growing at Treviso and Cividale. In No. 3 a page is shown from the unique copy of Rhazes, *Liber nonus ad Almansorem* (completed at Padua, 8 June 1476), bequeathed by Sir William Osler, and there are notes on three recently acquired autograph manuscripts, one of Carlyle's *Past and Present* presented by Mr. Gabriel Wells, another of Mill's *Logic*, and the third of Stanford's setting of Tennyson's *Ballad of The Revenge*. In No. 4 there is a page from the very important (though imperfect) manuscript of *Mum and Soothsegger*, a continuation (after a gap of about 150 lines) of the already known alliterative poem on *Richard the Redeles* composed early in the reign of Henry IV. The new section will in due course be published by the Early English Text Society, with whose help the manuscript was purchased. Meanwhile its discovery has explained the long-standing puzzle why Bale should have identified a poem to which he gives the name 'Mum Sothsegger, id est Taciturnitas, verorum dictrix' by quoting (in Latin) the first line of *Richard the Redeles* in which Mum and Sothsegger do not appear. *Richard the Redeles* will now presumably disappear as a title, and the new name be adopted for the two fragments of the whole poem. According to the note on the acquisition Bale only knew the poem from its mention in a lost work by Nicholas Brigham, which helps to explain why he omitted both an 'and' and an 'et' in the titles he quoted, thus giving the impression that Mum (the acquiescent counsellor) and Sothsegger (the speaker of unpleasant truths) were two phases of the same character.

A. W. P.

A Specimen of the several Sorts of Letter given to the University by Dr. John Fell, Oxford, 1693. The first English Type Specimen Book reproduced in collotype facsimile from the most perfect copy known. With an introduction, census and hand-list. London: James Tregaskis & Son, 66 Great Russell Street; distributed in America by Random House, 20 East 57th Street, N.Y., 1928. 250 copies printed.

THE Oxford *Specimen* of 1693 is valuable as the first of its kind to be published in England, and it is good to have a facsimile of it, and the information given in a brief preface and the description of the three other copies known, but the facsimile as here printed, and the copy in the Typographic Library and Museum of the American Type Founders' Company in Jersey City, described by Mr. H. L. Bullen for the present work, seem to contain two addenda which should not be treated as part of the Specimen itself. Mr. Bullen in describing the copy under his care has included two pairs of duplicate leaves in his numeration. He also claims a blank leaf at the beginning and two blank leaves at the end as parts of the book, but without stating what proofs there are of the identity of the paper. It is dangerous to hazard suggestions as to a book without seeing it, but it seems possible that the blank leaf at the beginning and the second blank leaf at the end may have formed a wrapper. If this be so, and the two pairs of duplicates be also deducted from the thirty-four leaves of which Mr. Bullen reckons his copy to consist, there remain twenty-eight leaves which seem to have three different sources.

- (i) The Specimen proper which consisted of eighteen leaves, as in the first of the two copies preserved in the Bodleian.
- (ii) *An Account of the Matrices, Punchions, &c., given by Bishop Fell to the University of Oxford*, on two leaves, the verso of the second being blank.
- (iii) *Catalogus librorum in Theatro Sheldoniano Oxon. impressorum*. Eight leaves, the first three signed U, U 2, U 3, the eighth left blank in the copy under Mr. Bullen's care, but

in that of Mr. Tregaskis containing a list of books in the press headed: 'Anno Domini MDCXCIV in Theatro Seldonio [sic] apud Oxoniam jam imprimuntur praeter Libros Anglicos etiam isti sequentes', the list enumerating thirteen books in progress followed by three recently issued.

It would be unusual to issue a list even of matrices and punchions in a Specimen book: when we look at the end of our second section and find such entries as '1 Wyer Sieve, 332 Dressing Sticks, 1 Pair of Sheers, 2 Iron Potts' it is clear that this is a printed inventory of all the possessions of the Printing House made for the use of the Committee by which it was managed, and not for issue to customers. That section iii, the *Catalogus Librorum*, with its first page signed U, cannot have any essential connexion with the *Specimen* should be self-evident. It was no doubt printed for issue at the end of some book printed in 1693, which ended at signature T, and should not be difficult to identify. As for the last leaf in the copy belonging to Mr. Tregaskis, its date 1694 suggests that the [1693] sheet U was passed through the press a second time and this addition made to it.

The general result of these surmises is that the Specimen book proper consisted of 18 leaves and any copy containing these must be reckoned as perfect, but that an inventory of the stock, and a list of the books printed at the press were bound with it in the copies distributed to the Committee or used for other purposes, and that in 1694 the blank leaf at the end of this was used to enumerate the books then in progress or just published. Mr. Tregaskis's copy may be reckoned as a unique state of binding-up for office use of three separately printed lists, of types, material, and books issued and in the press. But it is only more perfect than the copy in America because it is later.

A. W. P.

First Editions of To-day and How to Tell Them. By H. S. BOUTELL. Elkin Mathews and Marrot, Limited. 1928, pp. 62. Price 3s.

WHETHER readers of Mr. Boutell's little book will really be much helped in telling which among modern books are first editions and which are not seems to us a little doubtful, but that will be no fault of his, and his labours in writing to all the chief English and American publishers to ask them to state their practice seem likely to bear at least some fruit. One American firm writes curtly 'there is no way in which it is possible to distinguish any of our first editions from later ones', and another is equally emphatic and a little more colloquial in replying, 'There isn't any way you could identify the first editions of our books'. Clearly as regards the books of Messrs. Edward J. Clode and the David McKay Co., who have permitted these answers to be printed, the would-be collector of their first editions will not be greatly helped by Mr. Boutell's book. But as regards quite a large number of publishers' confessions that in the past their practice has not been uniform are accompanied by statements that in future they intend to have a practice and do their best to keep to it. Yet even the best firms like the Oxford University Press and Messrs. Macmillan, which have houses on both sides of the water, are not quite in agreement. Both conform to the good custom of placing the date of publication on every copy of a book issued, and both give buyers the information they have a right to ask as to whether a copy bearing a date later than the first is a new edition, printed from a new setting of the type, or with substantial alterations, or only a reprint. But whereas the Oxford University Press seems to prefer to give this information on the title-page itself, Messrs. Macmillan and a host of other publishers place it on the back of the title, where there is room to set out all the impressions and editions which have been issued. On the whole, as long as the title-page itself is dated this seems the better plan, though if a book is issued with the leaves unopened it may be difficult for a pur-

chaser to see what is on the back of the title until the copy has passed into his possession. A few publishers both in England and America state explicitly that a book is of the First or Original Edition either on its title or on the back; in most cases the absence of information is intended to be taken as indicating that the book has not been printed before. This is in accordance with tradition, which there seems no reason to disturb. The increasing practice of not dating the title-page itself breaks with tradition and is certainly generally regrettable, but it is possible to see that in the case of books of which large editions are printed, intended to supply the market for many years, booksellers might object to buying for stock in 1929 books dated 1925 and considerations of this kind cannot be ignored. There seems room indeed for differences of practice in different classes of books, for some of which the date is important while for others it is not. Wherever it is important it clearly ought to be placed on the title-page and not in any less conspicuous place.

We have suggested that the diversity of practice in the same publishing houses lessens the value of Mr. Boutell's manual. (Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton go so far as to state 'Our methods vary with every book'!) On the other hand, some secrets are brought to light. Thus purchasers of the books published by Messrs. Appleton of New York should look for the figure in brackets at the end of the last printed page on any books issued by them, while Messrs. Harper and Brother place two key letters beneath the entry of copyright, one of which denotes the year and the other the month. The collector also can obtain from the answers which Mr. Boutell prints a fair idea of which firms take any trouble in the matter and which do not. But the best result of his book will be an awakening of the conscience of backward publishers to the duty of coming into line with the best practice. Should this come about Mr. Boutell will deserve a statue, if that may still be considered a compliment.

A. W. P.

Vita de sancto Hieronymo (de nouo impressa et finita per cura et diligentia de duo Signetensi, 1928 (1929). The Cygnet Press, Suite 33, 20 Prescott Street, Cambridge, Mass. \$6.00. 20 leaves.

DR. G. P. WINSHIP and Mr. Philip Hofer, the managers of the Cygnet Press at Cambridge, Mass., have produced one of the most successful of antiquarian reprints which have come into our hands. One of the earliest books bought by collectors of Italian illustrated books is the Ferrara edition, printed by Lorenzo di Rossi in 1497, of the Epistles of St. Jerome translated by a Fra Mattheo of the same city. This is a folio in double columns and at the end of it comes the briefest of lives of St. Jerome, in eighteen 'capituli', many of them only of a few lines, but each with its appropriate woodcut and ornamental initial. Here we have a delightful sextodecimo with a type-page of the breadth of the folio column and the length of twenty-two lines of a type very like Rossi's. The cuts show up much better when only two can be seen at once, and as the little biography is of an attractive simplicity and the fifteenth-century Italian, despite the dialect in it, pretty easy to read, all is of the best that could be desired. Moreover, the charm of the book is increased by an epilogue in which in a pretty imitation of Fra Mattheo's Italian, a good Romanist who has been called upon to tell the story of the little book designed by 'duo pagani et abbenche nosco in amistade congiunti heretici prauissimi' contrives to give it his blessing despite all obstacles. It is much to be hoped that the managers of the Cygnet Press may have other ideas equally novel and pleasing, and put them into execution with as much success.

A. W. P.